

A SECOND LETTER to
A B C D E F, &c.

TH O, Gentlemen, Information is but thrown away, where there is wanting either Ingenuity to own Conviction, or Coolness to receive it; yet since your Secretary has obliged me with notice of your expecting to hear further from me, I shall not decline the Judgment of the Publick, whether I expose your way of writing, or my own: And since to me you seem posse'd with a Warmth against the present Government, I shall endeavour, if not to abate the heat of the distemper, yet to prevent its being catching.

You must pardon my Fears, since you give grounds for 'em, that 'tis very near turning to the Frenzy of downright *Toryism*; which, if it be a relapse in any who had labour'd with that disease, but grew sober upon the Revolution; must needs become incurable. But I hope in most of you it may be check'd, upon discovery of the first Symptoms; and that you yourselves will not believe the freedom you take with dead *Tories*, a greater evidence of your being out of all danger of that disease, than there are proofs of it, in your strict friendship with the living, and uniting in the same methods, not only for *clogging the Wheels*

Hist. p. 46

of this Government, which you threaten ; but for contributing to its subversion.

This is no more than must be expected from Tories, as such. If Strangers cannot comprehend the nature of our Government, how the Monarchy should be hereditary, and yet the Line of Succession not unalterable ; 'tis certain a Tory has such an invincible Prejudice against this Nation, that nothing can beat into his Noddle, what overthrows the Divine Right, and Power, of a Papist or Tyrant, whom the chance of Birth had placed next to the Throne. And when you talk of a King's having Power flowing from the People, they will tell you 'tis mere Blasphemy, and that Fortescue, whom you cite for it, was but an Advocate for an Usurper.

P. 32.

Should a Tory rise from the dead, and inform his Brethren, to what vain Idols they had sacrificed, with their Prostitutions of all Rights, Sacred as well as Civil; 'twould be likely to have no greater effect upon them, than the Admonitions of Moses and the Prophets had upon the obdurate Jews. But what unbias'd person can believe them to be in their right Wits, who not only expect the defence of this Kingdom in all events, but their Free Government, under which they disguise their projected Scheme of a Commonwealth, from a Coalition of Tories, with these free-spirited Gentlemen ? *Toryism* is such a Taint, as requires a severer state of Purgation, than the most rigid Philosopher ever prescrib'd for subduing corrupt Nature : And tho the Venom seems to sleep, while the Party are under some mortifications, yet like a lurking Plague it insensibly spreads its Infection : One would think a little remembrance of its Ravages in the late Reigns, might be sufficient Antidote against its.

Confutat
P. 31.

its Contagion : they who shall go about to cover those *livid Spots* which many of 'em still carry about 'em, must needs be thought to have their Brains feiz'd with that *Plague*; and with the accursed desire of communicating it to the sound.

What else can one think of them, who when the Sincerity of some Promoters of their Project is question'd, say , without any exception of those who had been *engaged* against the Interest of their Coun-
try, *Charity commands us to hope the best*: Yet will give no grains of allowance to others, who by their suffering for adhering to the Liberties of *England*, had given full proofs of their Sincerity : but such of them as *openly oppose* a Chimerical *Model* of a *Militia*, p. 7. must pass for *Apostate Whigs*. 'Tis certain that who-
ever would sacrifice the Constitution of this Monar-
chy, or the only visible means of preserving it, to the interest of their Spleen or Party, must be *Tories*, whatever denomination they assume : They can now hope for no success against the present Settlement of the Liberties of *England*, but in disguise, and with the help of *false Disciples*, who may betray 'em with a Kiss.

If these are to be distinguished from *Tories*, at least it must be agreed that they are far from being opposite to 'em, who maintain, That if *Whigs be the only Persons intrusted, the Tories would justly continue still disaffected*; as if their disaffection were so far from de-
serving the pain of loss , that it ought to be a recom-
mendation to *Trust*. However I must own you very politickly make way for your own admissions, by the complying Rule which you deliver, That *such as are Ib. not admitted to Confidence and Preferment, are most of 'em offended [upon no other score]*; according to which,

Milit. ref.
p. 10.

Milit. ref.
p. 54.

Vid.
1st Letter
shewing
their
Notions
taken
from
H's Ocea-
no.
Argument
p. 15.

the professed zeal of any of you for a Government of your own, or rather Mr. Harrington's Modelling, or of your new Friends, for King James; may be thought only in order to necessitate the Government to prefer the most clamorous, to stop their Mouths; and seems to point out the way of making you as bold *Conspirators against your Country*, as you represent your old Friends, whom you charge with *Apostacy*: when the true ground of this black imputation is their not joining with the *Tories*; While, with the mask of Commonwealths-men, they undermine that Government which has wounded *Toryism*, under the fifth Rib; but as 'twas just expiring, their new Friends, by an unmerciful pity, gave life to the destruction of Mankind: which, without his *Majesty's* glorious interposition, would not have left so much as the hopes of Civil Liberty, or freedom to profess the truly *Reformed Religion*.

In such a state, some of them who hector and threaten a patient administration, would have been very silent and *Passive*; and others could not for shame vent any murmurs, against what they had encouraged and incited, by their *slavish doctrines*.

Against which, they who have signalized themselves by an hazardous War, in times of the greatest danger, cannot but wonder at their assurance, who set up for Leaders in this noble Cause; and yet, like those who *perished in the gainsaying of Corah*, falsely represent their Great Deliverer from Egyptian Bondage, as *making himself altogether a Prince*, or Absolute over 'em.

When they who are so far from shewing any Scars in their Countries quarrel; that they were never heard of for *Champions* till that War was over, and nothing

nothing left 'em to Fight with but their own shadows, charge old Soldiers with *Desertion* and *Apostacy*, which is appropriated to Religion ; 'tis natural to enquire from whence 'tis that they take to themselves such an Authority of Stigmatizing whom they please : if 'tis not from their sufferings in the Cause, is it from the advantage of Education, or that superior Nature which they have over the rest of Mankind, which can comprehend all *Mysteries*, not only of State, but of Religion ?

If any of 'em were originally *Papists*, or *Tories*, the world will, doubtless, require other marks of their conversion, than advancing Reason into God's Throne, by representing Divine *Mysteries* as no more *above* Reason than *contrary* to it ; or shaking the Throne of that Prince whom God has made the Instrument of our *Deliverance*, from *Popery* and *Tyranny*.

Whatever are the Principles of these free Censurers of those who can't come up to their heights ; 'tis certain, that the load they lay upon the present Administration, is made up of matter, either wholly precarious, or aggravated with much ill nature, and groundless suppositions.

'Tis part of their unhappiness, that like Mr. Hobbs, whose Notions some of them had imbib'd too early before they could rightly distinguish ; they judge of all Mankind by themselves; and think they are left to their own ways, without any restraint from Divine Grace, or Providence : this I cannot but apprehend to be the main foundation of the Politicks you, Gentlemen, advance ; therefore 'tis that you tell us, you have not only your own Experience, but the Examples of all times to prove, that men in the same Circumstances will do the same things, call them by what names of distinction you please.

What

What is this but that *Whigs*, even the virtuous Authors of that Remark, would be as arrant *Tories* as any were in the Reigns you Censure ; if they had the same opportunities ? And as this is said in relation to our present Government ; That *King William*, who both here, and in *Holland*, has given demonstrations of his inflexible resolution to maintain the Rights of those Nations over which he presides ; if he had the like Power in his hands with our former Kings , would make the like use of it ? When his whole Life is a confutation of that mean thought of human Nature, which no honest mind could be guilty of. And if you could have one cool thought, you would find, that every Reign which you instance in, is a disproof of your Notion, and makes it evident, That under good Princes their Subjects have been happy , tho there was Force more than enough to have made them otherwise ; as *Queen Elizabeth*, whose Reign you propound as an Example , undoubtedly had, upon her disappointing the *Spanish Invasion* : And the Miseries which this Nation has endured, under any Kings or Queens, have been owing more to the Tempers of their Princes, and the Malignity of the *Tories* and their Predecessors, who have delighted in publick Calamities ; than to those *Mercenary Forces* of which you pretend to give the History ; but depart from it as much as the most injudicious Pulpit peer does from his *Text*.

Pref. AGO-
vernment
is a mere
piece of
Clockwork.

But whatever be the inclination of the Prince, or posture of Affairs, such State-Engineers, if we may believe 'em, have an Art to make all Governments move as regularly as any *Piece of Clockwork* ; which having such Springs and *Wheels*, must act after such

a man-

a manner ; and therefore the Art is to constitute it so, that it must move to the Publick Advantage.

One would think 'twere very difficult, whatever Climate men were under, how barbarous and uncivilized soever ; yet to contrive a *Machine of Government*, that should force all to act for the *Publick Good*.

You , before whose Understandings Sacred Mysteries vanish to nothing, are resolv'd that this shall not be kept in the dark ; but for the full enlightning Pref. to the Age, teach us, That as every man will act for his own Interest ; all wise Governments are founded upon that Principle : So that this whole Mystery is only to make the Interest of the Governors and Governed the same.

To set your Notion about this in a true light; 'twill be requisite to lay together the different ways of explaining your selves, upon this your great *Arcanum*.

Preface to the History.

Argument, Page 4.

' In an *Absolute Monarchy*, where the whole Power is in one man, his Interest will be only regarded. In an *Aristocracy* the Interest of a few ; and in a *Free Government* the Interest of every one : This would be the Case of *England*, if some Abuses, that have lately crept into our Constitution, were re-

' Our Constitution depending upon a due balance between King, Lords, and Commons; and that Ballance depending upon their mutual occasions and necessities they have of one another ; if this Cement be once broke, there is an actual dissolution of the Government. Now this Ballance can never be pre-

‘ moved. The Freedom
‘ of this Kingdom de-
‘ pends upon the Peoples
‘ chusing the *House of*
‘ *Commons*, who are a
‘ part of the *Legislative*,
‘ and have the sole power
‘ of giving Money : Were
‘ this a *true Representa-*
‘ *tive*, and free from *ex-*
‘ *ternal Force*, or *private*
‘ *Bribery*, nothing could
‘ pass there, but what
‘ they thought was for
‘ the publick Advantage.

‘ preserv’d, but by an
‘ union of the *Natural*
‘ and *Artificial Strength* of
‘ the Kingdom: That is,
‘ by making the *Militia*
‘ to consist of the same
‘ Persons as have the Pro-
‘ perty: or otherwise the
‘ Government is violent,
‘ and against Nature, and
‘ cannot possibly conti-
‘ nue; but the *Constitu-*
‘ *tion* must either break
‘ the *Army*, or the *Army*
‘ will destroy the *Constitu-*
‘ *tion*: For it is univer-
‘ sally true, that where
‘ the *Militia* is, there is
‘ or will be the Govern-
‘ ment in a short time.

I would gladly know whether, though you seem to allow the *King* and *Lords* to be part of the *Constitution*, according to your avowed Principle, to make

this a *Free Government* (which you know it can't be till the *Sword is in the hands of the People*) and to have the *Interest of the Governors and governed the same*. 1. The *Governors* ought not to be such, as the *governed* shall from time to time, in short Rotations, chuse from among

themselves? 2. Whether the Stations both of *Kings* and *Lords*, would not be at the pleasure of the People, in

Militia Reform'd, p. 22.

Where-ever the *Sword* is in the hands of the *People*, 'tis a *Free Government*, be it of *One*, or *Many*; and on the contrary, all *Tyrannies* are supported by *Mercenaries*.

in whose hands you would have the Sword to be? and
 3. Whether, to follow your own thoughts of Mankind, they would not, as soon as they were possess'd of this power, make themselves that *free state* which you so openly contend for? The great Things *King William* has done for the Nation, and the Obligation of Gratitude all of you, that are *Englishmen*, and *Protestants*, lie under; nay, which wise Papists thankfully acknowledge, will be nothing to them, who in the same breath that they condemn those who *Attribute all publick Miscarriages to the Corruption of Mankind*, own this to be so Universal, that *all men will do the same Things in the same Circumstances*: that is, under the same Temptations. Since, therefore, you give so true a Character of your selves, at least, you sufficiently warn the Government against trusting you with Power; and give Reputation to the prudent disposal and dividing of Offices; which, according to your own Doctrine, all *Kings* ought to be careful of, as they would preserve their *Crowns*: nor is that to be look'd on as a *Bribe*, which is but a further Engagement to Duty, or Reward for adhering to it.

*Prof.
Most men
having in-
digested
Ideas of the
Nature of
it, attri-
bute, &c.*

Indeed it has been found by sad Experience, that the giving Offices to Men by Principle, or Combination, against the Government, was but a lending Forces to the Enemy: and such men were Bribed so much higher, by their expectations upon a change; that their Offices rarely gained a Vote to the Publick: but, as these men would Sacrifice their Offices to destroy it, and thereby make way for their greater hopes; no Offices could corrupt true Patriots; nor can they be bestowed to an ill purpose, by a good

Prince. To imagine, that your Notions of Government, and Censures of the Powers that are over us, are any way applicable to the present Times, several invidious particulars must be unwarrantably supposed : As, 1. That the last Elections to Parliament, during His Majesty's Absence , were not free from External force: 2. That His Majesty, and the Court, have an Interest separate from that of the Publick : 3. That if there were private Bribery, it lay chiefly on the side of the Court. 4. That the Majority of the persons chosen, are capable of being Bribed against their Country , if it could be thought that His Majesty can have, or countenance any aims, contrary to the whole tendency of his Glorious Life.

Dean Sher-
lock's Ex-
pression.

Indeed 'tis well known who they are, that not only would make King *William* as bad as the worst of his Predecessors, by their Notions of Mankind, without restriction; but by their broad insinuations, and gross distortions of the Actions of a Prince , whom all Enemies, but such as would be thought *Englishmen*, speak of with greater Decency, and that *Euphemieia*, with which some Gentlemen are but little acquainted. Their finest Expressions toward His Majesty, as they are accompanied, are no les mockery than theirs ; who after they had Crown'd our Saviour with Thorns, in prophane derision, cri'd, *Hail King of the Jews*. And as 'tis their business to make Monarchy odious, 'tis no less to make Crowns so Thorny, that no Prince should be willing to wear one: which doubtless would come to pass here, if Princes could think such Persons a true Representative of the *English* Nation.

'Tis no great Mystery, Gentlemen, to whom you impute all the disappointments which we have had, from the Subtilty of Enemies , Treachery of pretended

tended Friends, or numerous Accidents unforeseen : In your *Argument*, speaking of a Misapplication of P.19. our *Naval Force* for Eight years, you say in the Singular Number ; “ which unriddles a Mystery I did “ not understand before ; though I never was so foolish “ as to believe all the Errors of that kind were the “ effects of Chance or Ignorance ; or that losing so “ many opportunities of destroying the *French Fleet*, “ had not some extraordinary, though occult cause ; which you repeat in your History with little Variation, P.23. saying, “ Though a great part of it may be Attri-“ buted to the Negligence, Ignorance, or Treachery “ of Inferior Officers ; yet it could not so univer-“ sally happen through the whole Course of the War, “ and unpunished too, notwithstanding the Clamours “ of the Merchants, and repeated complaints in Par-“ liament, unless the Cause had laid deeper : What “ that is, I shall not presume to Enquire ; but I am “ sure there has been a very ill Argument drawn “ from it, viz. *That a Fleet is no security to us.*

Certainly, without any deep diving into the bottom of your Reflection, the whole Scope of your Discourses in Print, and Coffee-Houses shew an insinuation, as if the Navy has been render'd useless through the design of him, or them, who intended to set up a *Standing Army*. To know whether King *William* is concert'd in this Reflection, 'tis but turning to what you say towards this matter, of the *Prince of Orange* : speaking of the inducements men had to turn against King *James*, you say ; “ By which means they all united against him, and invited the *Prince of Orange*, to assist them ; which invitation he accepted, and Landed at *Torbay*, the 5th of November 1688. publishing a Declaration, which set Hist. p.19.

" forth all the Oppressions of the last Reign, [but
 " the keeping up a *Standing Army*] ; declared for a
 " free Parliament, in which things were to be so setled,
 " that there should be no danger of falling again in-
 " to Slavery, and promis'd to send back all his Forces
 " as soon as this was done.

Here, [but the keeping up a *Standing Army*] is put with particular marks of distinction, as mightily to be observ'd; when 'tis well known, that if that was a material Omission, 'tis to be imputed to *Major Wildman*, and other *Englishmen*, whom you have in esteem, and who either penn'd or advised that Declaration ; nor is this particular, that I remember, mentioned in a larger *Manifesto*, published by *Major Wildman* himself : nor indeed could have been urged with so much grounds as the other notorious violations of the Constitution ; the Army having been rais'd in the defence of the then Government, against an Invasion by the *Duke of Monmouth*: which was very formidable, though he Landed with no more than 70 odd men : and was afterwards kept up in fear of the much greater power of His *present Majesty*, when but *Prince of Orange*. But here's too plain an insinuation, as if he broke his promise contained in his Declaration, in not sending back all his Foreign Forces, as soon as a free Parliament had been holden, and things so setled by that Parliament, that there should be no danger of falling again into slavery.

Letter from the Author of the Arguments.p.4.

Now, according to your Argument, as 'tis a state of Peace, as soon as Terms are agreed on, and Signed, and a Peace Proclaim'd, or rather when, according to your pleasant definition of *Peace*, there is a Cessation of the Exercise of the use of Arms ; which may reach no further than a short truce, or only a discontinuance

continuance of the Disciplining of Soldiers, between Exercise and Exercise ; so, as soon as the Bill of Rights was pass'd into an Act of Parliament , His Majesty was obliged to have sent back all his *Foreign Forces* : which if he had done, the Bill of Rights had been very insignificant ; nor was the Militia of *England* likely so soon to have reduced a *Scotch Regiment* in actual Rebellion, as Collonel *Eppingham's* Regiment of *Dutch Dragoons* did.

But, Gentlemen, in whatever sense you took His Majesty's Declaration, had you not run it over with your usual heat and inconsideration, you would have found, that the promise in the Declaration was to send the Forces back, *as soon as the State of the Nation will admit of it*. But certainly the restless Spirits of such persons as you well know, with the probability of the continuance of a Plot, to dethrone the King, if not to *murder* him ; and the grounds to believe that those Regiments which have been form'd in *Lancashire*, and elsewhere, for the destruction of our Religion, and Liberties, are not broken ; may occasion a consideration, whether the *State of the Nation* will yet admit of sending back the very few that remain of His Majesty's Foreign Forces.

The manifest conviction of the unfairness of your insinuation, as if His Majesty had purposely omitted declaring against a *Standing Army*, because of his intention to keep one, and that contrary to his Declaration ; may supersede, the considering many of your like perversions : To which that of the Poet is applicable :

Aut famam sequere, aut convenientia finge.

Which

Hift. p. 38.

It was
in that
sense I un-
derstood
His Ma-
jesties De-
claration.

Which I may render,
If you slight truth, feign what may be believ'd.

'T were to no purpose here to rake into all the filth of your *Augæan Stable*, 'tis enough to shew how it ought to be regarded. In order to which I shall observe, 1. The sincerity and truth of your History, and other Papers on this Subject. 2. Their pertinency. 3. The strength of your Reasoning. 4. Your great knowledge in the Constitution of this Monarchy. 5. The provision you make to secure it.

Their sincerity and truth in History. 1. You think it plain from the History of all times, and places, and of *England* especially, that no Government has been, or can be *free*, without *the Sword in the hands of the people*; that is, as you explain your selves, the *men of property*; and that a *Standing Army* is *Slavery, Popery, Mahometism, Paganism, Atheism*, or any thing which they please;

An Abstract of some of the instances. Your definition of a *Standing Army*, is *Horse and Foot rais'd under Commission granted by the King, with Swords and Pistols, Pikes, and Musquets, Powder, and Ball, to kill men*. Now if it should happen that Bows and Arrows were us'd at any time, and no Musquets, you may help your selves off from some instances of

Standing Armies, because no Musquets were used, which you bring into the definition: However, when you argue for trusting *Arms* only in the hands of *sober, industrious, and understanding Freemen*, to keep to your definition, the Commanders of these *Freemen* ought not to be commissioned by the King; but

Militia Reform'd p. 49. p. 22. be that as 'twill (since your Scheme for the *Militia* leaves it indifferent, *Whether they be Elected by Lot, or successively appointed by the King*;) yet you will have it, that in all *Free Governments*, and particularly

Mil. p. 17.

cularly in the *Roman*, as long as the Governments have continued free, the Sword has been in the hands of the people, or Freemen; and that none but men of Fortune and Property, whose private interest firmly engaged them to the publick good, had the honour of serving in their Armies; for which purpose you load your Margin with pompous Quotations, which may pass upon the unwary for proofs of your assertions.

Militia
Reform'd.
p. 19.

And you lay it as a Rule, which you hold to be universally true, *That where-ever the Militia, or Military Strength is, there is, or will be, the Government in a short time.*

Argument
p. 4.

As to *England*, you with great triumph desire to know of the Patriots, "How comes an Army necessary to our preservation now, and never since the Conquest before? Did ever the prevailing Party in the Wars of *Tork* and *Lancaster*, attempt to keep up a *Standing Army* to support themselves? No; you conclude, they had more sense than to Sacrifice their own Liberty, and more honour than to enslave their Country, the more easily to carry on their own Faction; and according to your gift of bringing in your twice sodden Coleworts, in your History you say, "In all the Wars of *Tork* and *Lancaster*, whatever Party prevailed, we don't find they ever attempted to keep up a standing Army; such was the virtue of those times, that they would rather run the hazard of forfeiting their Heads and Estates to the rage of the opposite Party, than certainly enslave their Country, tho' they themselves were to be the Tyrants.

ib. p. 25.

p. 31.

In the Argument (which possibly my first Letter may have prevented your repeating as to this matter) you say, "Were not the *Spaniards* as Powerful, as good

Ar. p. 25. " good Soldiers, and as much our Enemies, as the
 " French are now? Was not Flanders as near us as
 " France? And the Popish Interest in Queen Eliza-
 " beth's time as strong as the Jacobite is now? And
 " yet that most Excellent Princess never dream'd of
 " a Standing Army, but thought her surest Empire
 " was to Reign in the Hearts of her Subjects.

Your Argument being something cooler than your History, you could not grace your first attempt, to prove that Land Forces must necessarily destroy our Constitution, with any part of the Reign of J. I. a King who scandalously affected the Stile of *Pacific*; and yet, without Arms, waged War with his Subjects, and gain'd ground upon their Liberties.

Indeed as to C. I. you inform the World, That no-
 thing but want of a Standing Force saved the Nation

Ar. p. 14. in his time, and are positive, if he *had had Five thousand Men beforehand with us*, which is not limited
 v. & cont. Hist. p. 6. to any particular part of his Reign, *the People had never struck a stroke for their Liberties.*
 & p. 7.

You affirm, " That this Nation would not suffer
 " our Kings to keep up an Army in Ireland, tho there
 " were frequent Rebellions there, and by that means
 " their subjection very precarious, as well knowing
 " they would be in England when called for.

Id. p. 16.
 " Charles the II^d, you say, being connived at in
 " keeping a few Guards (which were the first ever
 " known to an English King besides his Pensioners and
 " his Beef-Eaters) he insensibly increased their Num-
 " ber, till he left a Body of Men to his Successors
 vid. Hist. " great enough to tell the Parliament, *he would be no
 p. 17. & con. longer bound by the Laws he had Sworn to.*

Speaking of the Reign of His present Majesty,
 with whose Administration you take as much freedom

as

as with any of his Predecessors, you affirm, That
7877 of his Majesty's present Forces are Foreigners,
which, according to your great truth and knowledge
in History, you say, *is the first Foreign Army that
ever set foot in England, but as Friends.*

P. 37.

You boldly intimate, That the Officers of all his
Majesty's present Forces, ought to be *Attainted of High Treason*, and that Soldiers are now, *against Law, Quartered in all parts of England*, by no other Authority than a *Vote of the House of Commons to give 350000 l. for Guards and Garrisons.*

P. 25, 26.

All which Historical assertions and insinuations, with some of their further embellishments, deserve a short examination; and it may be worth enquiry, whether a little ingenuity, or attention, to what you had been informed of not long before, might not have prevented some of your mistakes, both in the *Roman and English History*; as well as an *Act of Parliament* might have silenc'd your objection against the Legality of the present Subsistence of a Land Force.

As to your use of the *Roman History*, you may please to remember instances offered to your observation, whereby it appeared, that That Wise People, even while they had a Commonwealth, were far from keeping to your balance, between the *natural and artificial strength*; the far greater part of their Armies having been *Auxiliaries*: and that they did not think they could have preserved their Liberties, without reposing large confidence in great and virtuous Generals, as particularly they did, with good success, in Pompey.

*Roman History.**Vid. Letter to A, B, &c.*

p. 26.

Vid. Letter to A, B, &c

p. 26.

But I would gladly know, how long, or in what time since *Rome's* extending its Dominion beyond the

D

Walls,

Militia
Reform'd.
p. 22.

Ib. p. 32.

Walls, or Suburbs of the City, 'twas such a *Free Government* as you contend for, where the *Sword* is in the hands of the People, and all Persons are equally Educated in Civil and Military Discipline.

Since to them who fancy they can comprehend infinity, a Thousand years may seem but as a day;

'Tis an easy leap with you from the *Comitia Curiata*

(which according to *Amelius*, had no relation to *Soldiery*) and the *Centuriate Assemblies* of ancient *Rome*, *Established in its Infancy*, above 600 years before Christ (the time of the continuance of which,

according to its first Establishment, is wholly uncertain) to come to an Order publish'd in the Fourth Century after Christ, by *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius*, which you bring in as a *Rule of listing Freemen only*: but with your usual strain of Reflections, you make it to have had no effect, because the *Emperors at the same time resolv'd to continue Arbitrary*.

However, the Rule you instance in is neither rightly understood, nor applied by you; for the decree

which you render, that in our *best Troops* there be no *Slaves* enroll'd, "nor any *Servants* out of Houses "of Entertainment; is restrain'd

"to the *best Troops* of the choicest

"or most select *Soldiers*, or rather *Horsemen*, among "which there were to be no *Servants*, nor any one "taken from an House of Entertainment.

'Tis manifest that the decree has nothing of your distinction between *Slaves* and *Servants*; nor relates to Common *Soldiers*: but to the *best Horse*, and probably such as made the *Emperors Horse Guards*: but

if

Inter optimas lectissimorum militum turmas neminem e numero servorum dandum esse decernimus neve ex apona dubitum.

if this decree did extend farther, necessity would have compell'd those Emperors to break it, not for the making themselves absolute, but to defend themselves from the *Goths* and *Vandals*, who had before that time broken in upon the *Roman Empire*: but if we confine our selves to the times, while *Rome*, as you would have it, maintain'd your *Free Government*; 'tis certain, that without the help of *Auxiliaries*, and giving the *Roman* privileges to *Strangers*, they could not have preserv'd so much as the Being of their Commonwealth, much less have enlarged it: And that they did not subdue the *Eastern Nations* by the *Militia* Militia Reform'd.
p. 69.
of Italy: nor was the *Sword* first put into the bands of *Servants* by the *Arbitrary Emperors*, who durst not trust *men of Property*. Though you, going on with this imagination of your own, impute the shaking off of the *Roman Empire*, by the *Oriental Countries*, and the Invasion of the *Goths and Vandals*, to the *Ib.* *Arbitrary disposition* of the *Emperors*, which led 'em to Arm *Servants*, or others besides *Citizens*, or *Freemen*: 'Tis no matter whether this be true, it makes for your purpose to assert it, and few you think will presume to doubt your Authority. Upon which you would have it believ'd, That till about the time the *Eastern Nations* shook off the *Roman Yoke*, and the Empire was invaded by the *Goths and Vandals*, none but *men of Property* bore Arms for it; and that thus it would have continued but for the *Arbitrari-*
ness of the Emperors.

But whoever were to be entrusted with Arms, according to the strictest *Roman Discipline*; 'tis certain it ow'd the chief Provisions for its security and greatness, to the *Wisdom and Virtue of Kings*:

Florus lib.
I. cap. 3.
*Hic omne
militarem
disciplinam
artemq;
bellandi
condidit.*

Tullus Hostilius first instituted all their Military Discipline and Art of War ; inspired into *Rome* the courage to rival *Alba*, and power to destroy it. The Centuriate Assemblies which you recommend, were first appointed by the elder *Tarquin*, whose Foreign Birth was of no small advantage towards his improving his Kingdom : and the inviting Strangers, and transplanting the *Albines*, made no inconsiderable accession to the strength of the *Romans* ; which men were not so much for their Birth, as common Interest, to preserve the place of their Settlement.

If at their first planting, before the Excesses of some, and Avarice of others, had made unequal Distributions of Property ; every Proprietor of ability serv'd in the War in person ; 'tis certain, when one man came to possess as much as One hundred had at the first, he must either have supplied his Quota with himself, and Ninety nine Servants, or Hirlings ; or else there must have been but one Soldier, where there had been an hundred.

This, Gentlemen, Reason might inform you, without consulting History ; however, you might have observ'd out of *Velleius Paterculus*, enough to overthrow your fancy of the *Roman Discipline*.

*Velleius
Paterculus
lib. 2. in
principio.*

" The first *Scipio*, says he, open'd the way to " the power of the *Romans*, the latter to their Luxury ; " for the fear of *Carthage* being removed, and the " Emulatrix of Empire taken away ; they departed " from Virtue, and run over to Vices, not by de- " grees, but with a precipitous course : *The Old* " *Discipline was Deserted*, New brought in ; the " City was turn'd from Watchings to Sleep, from " Arms to Pleasures, from Business to Idleness : then " *Scipio*

" *Scipio Nasica* built Porches in the Capitol, *Metellus*,
 " those which are mentioned before ; then *Cæus Octa-*
vius in the *Cirque* much the pleasantest of them
 " all : And *private Luxury* succeeded *publick Magni-*
fidence. Then follow'd the sad and reproachful War
 " in *Spain*, *Viriathus* being Leader of the Robbers ;
 " which was waged with so various fortune , that
 " 'twas for the most part adverse to the *Romans* : But
 " *Viriathus* being slain, rather by the Fraud than Va-
 " lour of *Servilius Cæpio* ; a more grievous one of the
 " *Numantines* broke out. This City never armed more
 " than Ten thousand of its own Youth.

Now to judge whether your Scheme of a Commonwealth is practicable here, since the encrease of Arts, Sciences, and Luxury ; apply it only to your own pattern, and consider whether a general exercise of the best of the people of Rome in the use of Arms, was the only bulwark of their Liberties ? and whether in those days there was no difference between the Citizen, the Soldier, and the Husbandman ?

'Tis observable, that this ancient Author says, that the *Romans* in no time arm'd more than ten thousand of its own Youth : And as the Learned *Vossius* observes, " *Appian* lessens this Number by 2000. " *Florus* and *Orosius*, take away more than half, for they speak only of four thousand.

If the whole Commonwealth of *Rome* was, as you imagine, but one form'd Militia, it must needs have had a much greater body of its own Youth, than the highest of these computations ; but whatever was the number of their own Forces, they could not always maintain the seat of Empire ; but once were

Hac urbs
 nunquam
 plura quam
 decem mil-
 lia propria
 juventutis
 armavit.
 Argument
 p. 7.

Gerardi Vossi Notæ in Paterculum
 upon this passage. Hac urbs, &c.
 Florus autem & Orosius plus de-
 munt dimidio. Nam de quaternis
 solum milibus loquuntur.

*Velleius
Paterc. lib.
2. Sect. 16.
Caput imper-
rii sui Corfi-
nium lege-
rant, &c.*

were forc'd to change it for *Corfinium*, where they must have skulk'd till they had been destroyed, but for very great men at their head, and the putting Arms into the hands of *Strangers*, or others, not before trusted with them.

For further evidence that the *Roman Wars* were not carried on only by the *Citizens of Rome*; Permit me to Transcribe part of what *Velleius Paterculus* says of the War commenced by the *Asculans*, and followed by the *Marsians*, and the generality of the people of *Italy*, because of their being denied the Freedom of the City.

Quorum ut fortuna a-
trox ita causa fuit justissi-
ma: petebant enim eam
civitatem cuius imperium
armis tuebantur: per om-
nes annos atq; omnibella
duplici numero se militum
equitumq; fungi: neq; in
eius civitatis jus recipi,
quæ per eos in id ipsum
pervenisset fastigium,
per quod homines ejus-
dem & gentis & san-
guinis, ut exernos alienosq;
fastidire posset.

W'hoſe Fortune, says he, *as 'twas severe*, so their cause was most just; for they demanded the freedom of that City, whose Empire they had defended by their Arms: They represented that throughout all Years, and all Wars, they serv'd with a double Quota of Foot and Horse: and yet were not admitted to the right of that City, which by their means had arrived to that very height, that it could contemn men of the same both Nation and Blood, as Foreigners and Strangers.

Thus

Thus it may appear, that *Rome* was never for any considerable time such a *free Government*, as you labour for, nor indeed could be : And 'twill appear, that you are neither more fair, nor more fortunate in the *English*, than you have been in the *Roman Story*.

In the *Saxon Times*, as I had observ'd, before the great encrease of Trade, the ballance of Power was on the side of Property, and that in Land ; that Polity was admirable for the Peope in those Circumstances ; but as 'twould be the work of Ages, to reduce us to those Circumstances ; so 'twould be to make us capable of that model ; and to that end there must be a new distribution of Property, upon which, you, Gentlemen, no doubt would propose to your selves a share according to your large Merits. But even then no man was obliged to go to the War in his own person, 'twas enough if he found a sufficient man in his room ; for which I may refer you to *Domesday Book*, that great Record of the time of *William I.* where speaking of the then Ancient Custom in the City of *Worcester*, it shews that when the King went to the War, if any one, who was so free, that he had suit and service of Court, and could go with his Land, whither he would, staid at home after Summons ; he was to be in the King's mercy for all his Land : If he was a Freeholder

* Vid. First Letter to *A, B, C.*
from p. 16, 17, 18.

A short Account of the Ancient Provisions and Establishments for defence of this Kingdom, and of the trust for that end repos'd in the Crown.

Domesday. Wircceſtre ſcire. In civi. Wircceſt. quando Rex in hostem pergit ſiquis edicto ejus vocatus remanerit; ſi ita liber homo eft ut habeat ſocam ſuam & ſacam & cum terra ſua poſſit ire quo voluerit, &c.

Freeholder of any Lord, and his Lord found a man in his stead, after he had been summon'd by his Lord ; he was to pay his Lord 40 s. if no body went for him, still he was to pay 40 s. to his Lord, and the Lord to pay as much to the King.

Trinoda necessitas.

Vid. Regist. Abind. in Bib.
Cot. Claud 9.
Cart. E. i. ante Conq; Except. rata viz. Expeditione pontis arcisq; repar. sic ib. Cart. Ed. Conf ib. Cart.
Ethelredi communis labore, &c.

3. Of Forts and Castles. There were long before the reputed Conquest, express reservations of Military Tenures.

Vid. White's Sacred Law. p. 148.
12 Cum scutis. Vid. Bib. Col. sub.
Effigie Claudii 9.

Cum Regis Edicto in annalibus anno arentur quot de Episcopiis quotve de Abbatiis ad publicam rem tuendam milites, si forte huic cause propellenda contigeret exigenterunt eisdem donativis prius retentis Abbas mansiones possessioni Eccles. pertin. inde delegavit : edicto cuiq; tenore parendi de sua portionis mansione. Quae possessio nes ab eis habita fuerunt quos Thanos dicunt, & in bello Hastings occubuerant.

Bishopricks, and Abbies ; shews, "that the Donatives or "Grants having been before kept in possession ; that "Abbot alienated from the Church, some Mansions, "Houses with portions of Land ; every one being "appointed the tenour of his Service for his proportion. Which possessions had been enjoyed by them "whom they call Thanes, and had dyed in the battle "at Hastings.

Thus

In those times, besides the common rate, or the general incidents to Land (unless such as were particularly exempted by Charters pass'd in the Great Councils,) call'd, The Threefold necessity. 1. The Expedition. 2. The Repair of Bridges.

There were long before the reputed Conquest, express reservations of Military Tenures.

Long since notice has been taken of the Charter of Kenulph, King of Mercia to Abington, exempting them from all Services, but the expedition with 12 Shield-bearers ; which according to the Register of Abington in the Cotton Library were so many Thanes or Knights : That Register, speaking of the number of Knights Enrolled in Doomesday Book, as charged upon

Thus in *Domesday Book* we find that *Ayulf* the Chamberlain held^a *Odeton* in *Dorsetshire*, which had been possess'd by *Brusi* King *Edwards* Knight, (the same as I take it with^b *Huscarle*) and *Godwin*,^c and his Son *Harold*, were by judgment of the Great Council, to deliver or assign over to that King, the Service of all their Knights throughout *England*.

The Antiquity of these Services, and other incidents to tenure, may appear by^d *Wulfere* the Mercian King's Charter of exemption to *Medhamsted* or *Peterborough*, in the year 664.

Wulfere's Charter, subscrib'd by several of his Peers, and consented to by the rest of the Great men, and the King's Thanes, "exempts "the Monks of that place, and "their Demesns from every scot "and geld, and from every aid of "Kings, Sheriffs, and of all their "Ministers, Hidage, and Dane- "geld, from the pleas and plaints "of Shires and Hundreds, Ward- "penny, Boroughpenny, and Lestage, "Wrec, and from all Works and "Enclosures of Castles, Parks, and "Houses, and from all Carriage, "and Summage, and Shipping, "and Building of the King's "Houses, and all work. And "their Woods were not to be

^a *Domesday. Dorset Terra Ayulfi Camerar. Ipse A. tenet Odeton. Brusi tenuit miles Regis Edw.*

^b *Bedefordscire f. 216. Tovi Huscarle Regis Edwardi.*

^c *Malmf. f. 81. Servitium militum quos per Angliam habebant Regi contraderent.*

^d *Vid. Original. Cart. in Bib. Cot.*

Cum ceteris optimatibus & Ministris Regis.

Ab omni Scotto & geldo, & ab omni auxilio Regum, Vicecomitum, & omnium Ministralium suorum: & Schirar. & hund. placitis & querelis, Wardpenii, & Boroupenii, & Lestage, Wrec. & ab omnibus operibus castellorum, parcorum, & domuum & de claustris & ab omni Careio, & summagio, & navigio, & regalium dom. edificatione & omnimoda operatione. Et silvae eorū ad pred. opera vel ad aliqua alia nullo modo capiantur. Precipimus etiam quod pred. monasterium & dominica sint lib. & quiet ab omni dominatione & exactione Com. Baron. Vicecomitum, & Minstral. suer.

"made use of , for the said or other Works.

" Besides, 'tis particularly required, that the said
" Monastery and Demesns, be free and acquitted from
" all domination and exaction of Earls, Barons, She-
" riffs, and their Officers.

But all the Lands which were not thus exempted, were subject to the incidents abovementioned ; and some were over and above those incidents, particularly obliged to serve the King, or the Lord, who was the King's immediate Tenant ; not but that before the reputed Conquest , 'tis to be believed that the number of such as were bound to particular Services were much less, than they were after the large distribution of forfeited and other Lands, made by William the I. to those who assisted him in recovering his Right , which many of the English did.

Vid. 1st.
Let. p. 20.
* Selden's
Tit. of Honour.
f. 573.
60215.
Knights Fees.
Domesday.
Leicest.
Si verò per mare in hospites ibat mittebant quatuor equos.
Ib.
Colchster.
Ad viatum soldariorum Regis ad expeditio- nem terra vel maris Ib. Et hoc fit si Rex soldarios habuerit vel expeditio- nem fecerit.

'Tis generally * thought, that W. I. had more than 60000, which before the time of the great Survey, were obliged to serve him in his Wars ; though the Author of the Red Book in the Exchequer, makes the number but 22000. What was the proportion of every single Person, or Body Politick, towards the War, as I take it, cannot now be known by *Domesday-Book* ; but depended upon their Grants : though the proportions of some are there enter'd : Thus the City of *Leicester* , now but a Borough Town , was to send *Four Horses to carry Arms*, or things necessary, as far as *London*, upon a *Naval Expedition*. The Town of *Colchester* in *Essex* us'd to pay 6 d. per House for the subsistence of the King's Soldiers for Land Service, and that while there were Soldiers in pay, though no actual expedition. The Town of *Stanford* was geldable for the Land and Sea-Service, and *Danegeld*, at the rate

rate of 12 Hundreds and an half ; where the finding the men was plainly left to the discretion of the King and his Officers ; and indeed, unless 'twere generally so, 'twill be difficult to believe, that the Ancient *Historians* give a true account, when they represent *Domesday-Book* as an entry, how many Knights or Soldiers the Clergy was to furnish as well as the *Laity* ; and yet the general Entry is only that Lands were *geldable*, at so many *Hides*, or the like.

Indeed, it seems by *Roger of Wendover*, who wrote before *Matthew Paris* That *W. I.* in the 4th of his Reign, put under Military Service, all *Bishopricks* and *Abbies* that held *Baronies*, enrolling every *Bishoprick* and *Abby* in the Exchequer, with the charge of so many Knights, or men, as he thought fit to be us'd in time of War.

Whether the Charter of *H. I.* to **Ely* relates to this Entry in the Exchequer of *W.I.* ; or to the Great Survey made at the latter end of his Reign, I need not determine : but some of the words of that Charter I think very material to our present Subject.

*H. Rex Anglor. Com'
Vic' & omnibus fidel. suis
Francis & Anglis totius
Angliae salutem. Sciatis*

*Henry King of the English
to the Earls, Barons, and
all faithful Subjects, French
and English, Greeting.*

Inter al. Brompton f.976.20.W.I.

*Quot hida i. e. jugera uni aratro
per annum sufficientia in unaquaq;
villâ essent, & quantum terra quisq;
Baronum suorum possidebat Inquiri
etiam fecit quot feodati milites, &c.*

*Wendover M. S. in Bib. Cot.
sub Effigie Claudii de Ann. 1070.*

*Episcopatus quoq; & Abbatias
omnesque Baronias tenebant & eatinus
ab omni servitio seculari libertatem
habuerant sub servitute statuit mi-
litari, irrorulans singulos Episcopatus
& Abbatias pro voluntate suâ,
quot milites sibi & succes. suis hostili-
tatis tempore voluit à singulis exhibi-
beri, & rotulos hujus Ecclesiastica ser-
vitutis ponens in Thesauris, &c.*

**Cart. Mon. El. in Bib. Cot f.
127. B. Cart. H. 1.*

quia volo, & concedo, &
præcipio ut omnes illi Ba-
rones, & Vavasores, qui
terras illas tenent quas
Carta mea Wintoniæ de
Thesauro meo, testatur
fuisse juratas temporis pa-
tris mei, ad pacem Eccles.
de Ely, recognoscant
eas & teneant de præd'
Eccles. & Episc. de Ely
amodo & in perpetuum :
faciendo inde Ecclesiæ ser-
vitium militiæ secundum
tenuras, & secundum
hoc quod servitia statuta
sunt. Et ita quod Bar-
ones, & Vavasores, easdem
terras tenentes quieti sint
erga me & alios Dominos
suos, de tanto servitio
quantum inde Episc. &
Eccles. præd' facere de-
buerint, in statuto servitio
militiæ.

*Know you, that I will, and
grant, and command, That all
those Barons and Vavasors,
who hold those Lands which
my Charter-Roll of the Ex-
chequer at Winchester,
testifies to have been sworn
in the time of my Fa-
ther, to preserve the peace of
the Church of Ely, hence-
forth and for ever recog-
nize and hold them of the
said Church, and the Bi-
shop of Ely : doing for
them to the Church Mili-
tary Service, according to
their Tenures, and accord-
ing to the Services which
are appointed. And so
that the Barons and
Vavasors, holding those
Lands, be acquitted to-
wards me, and other
Lords, of so much Ser-
vice, as they ought from
thence to perform to the
said Bishop and Church,
according to the appointed
Military Service.*

They

They who were thus to servethe King in his Wars, as Tenants of the Church, or Lay-Lords, were of the nature of a *Standing Force*, in comparison with those who either were *geldable*, * or chargeable, according to the quantity of their Lands, to the maintenance of these, beyond the times that their tenures required their Service; or other Soldiers that the King should raise; as also in comparison of the *Socmanni*, free Sogagers, or the *Alediaries*, under the *Thanes* or *Barons*, such as for instance, *Ednod* and *Edwi* were, in the time of the *Confessor*, and after, and their Heir *Cole*, who paid Relief to Earl *William*. These neither held their Lands by Military Service, nor were they, as I take it, *geldable*; and yet by virtue of the *Confessor's Law*, Declaratory of the Common Law of the Kingdom, were obliged to find Arms according to their real and personal Estates; to produce 'em at the *Wapentakes*, or Hundred Courts; and employ 'em for the defence of the Kingdom: in which they were to be aided by all who lived under the King's protection and peace. For the maintaining which, our Kings have originally been entrust-ed with power, by commissions of *Array*, to raise not only *Freemen*,

Vid. in Doomesday, distinctions between Lands or Houses, Gel-dantes, and others.

So Doomesday. Salop. In civitate Scropesberie sunt 252. Burgenses, &c. dicunt Angli Burgenses scropesberie multum grave esse quod ipsi reddant tosum geldum sicut reddebatur T.R.E. Quamvis castellum Comes occupaverit & 51 masuras & alia 50 masurae sunt wastæ & 43 Francigina burgenses teneant masuras geldantes T.R.E.

* *Doomesday, Dorsete in Brideport T.R.E. erant 120 domus & ad omne servitium Regis defendebant se & geldabant pro 5 hidis scil ad opus Huscar-lum Regis dimid. mar. argenti.*

Vid. Doomesday Hantesc. Terra Tainor Regis Subberie tenuerunt Ed-nod & Edwi in aldio de Rege Edw. & post mortem ejus: ipsimet quoq; mor-tui. Quidam vero proximus eorum Cula, redemit terram de W. Comite. Modò tenet eam Walterius in vademo-nio de filio Cole de Basinge.

+ Vid Leges Ed. Tit. Greve. Inter al. Vid Rot. Pat. 13 E. 3. pars 1. d. 28. such a commission to array men between the Towns of Saltess and Fowey. Rot. Parl. 6 E. 3. N. 18. such Commissions referred to and allowed.

Est assentus que les Gentz de Holderness soient arraiez taxes & facent aide pur la garde de la Marches Descoce, &c. nient contristeant la commission fait a eux de la garde du Meer.

and

but Servants and *Villains*: whom they listed, and continued together upon Emergencies.

Besides, the Kings, as I take it, before the time of *W. I.* us'd not only to have Horses with their Equipage, for the Reliefs of Heirs that were of full Age at the Death of their Ancestors, who held of the Crown by Knights Service; but the custody of the Heirs that were Minors; and the providing for the Service: These and other Soldiers they used to keep in Garison. Many of the Soldiers here in the *Confessor's* time were Foreigners; and such even in the time of *W. I.* if we believe the Register of *Abbingdon*, were a great benefit and protection to them that desired to live in peace. {Speaking of the Affairs of *Abbingdon* in those times, the Register has these words:

Regist. Ab.
in Bib.
Cor. Sup.

In primordio autem
sui adventus in Abbatiam
non nisi armator septus
manumilitum alicubi pro-
cedebat, quidem necessa-
rio multæ enim novita-
tes conjuratorum indies
passim contra Regem &
Regnum ejus ebullientes
universos in Angliâ setueri
cogebant. Tunc Wa-
llingaforde & Oxeneforde
& Wildefore, cæterisque
locis castella pro Regno
servando compacta unde
huic Abbatiae militum ex-
cubias ad ipsum Wildefore

*When the first came to
the Abby, he went no
whither without being
guarded with a number of
Arm'd Soldiers: Indeed of
necessity; for many new
Conspiracies daily break-
ing out every where against
the King and his Kingdom,
compell'd all people in
England to be upon their
guard. Then Castles were
built at Wallingford, and
Oxford, and Windsor, and
other places, for the safety
of the Kingdom, whence
it was commanded this
oppo-*

oppidum habendas Regio imperio jussum. Quare tali in articulo hujus fortunæ, milites transmarini in Angliam venientes favore colebantur precipuo.

Abby by the King's Edict, to keep Watch and Ward with Soldiers, to the very Town of Windsor. Wherefore at such a point of time, Foreign Soldiers coming into England were had in chief esteem.

* The same Register shews, that Foreign Soldiers were maintain'd there in Garrison, and that one of them having no Estate in *England*, had, by the King's command, a corrodoy or subsistence there during Life.

^b In a War with the *Scots*, the Abbot of *Abbington* attended *Robert* the King's Son, as 'tis probable with the Soldiers either in Garrison, or holding of the *Abby*; the Register is express, ' that upon an Expedition against the *Welsh*, almost all that Churches Soldiers were commanded to go; and a great Army being prepared upon an Invasion threatned by the *Danes*, all the *Bishopricks* and *Abbies* were commanded to supply it with Victuals; which yet I take not to have been an Arbitrary imposition; but in pursuance of the custom before that King's Reign, agreeable to what we find in *Domesday-book*, of the Customs of *Berkshire*.

* Tunc temporis milites quidam *Abendonenses*, Regis pro negotio *Normaniam missi*, cum maris in medio remigrarent a piratis capiuntur, &c. Quorum unus *Hermes* nomine, necdum alicuius terra portionem adeptus, &c. unde in futurum vicitur. ^b Milites hujus Eccles. pene omnes proficisci jubentur ^c. Administrare quibuscum Regis imperio jubentur.

Quando geldum dabantur T.R.E. communiter per totam Berocchscire dabat hida 3 d. ob. ante Nativ. dom. & tantum ad Pentecosten. Si Rex mittebat alicubi exercitum, de 5 hidis tantum unus miles ibat: & ad ejus victum vel stipendum de unaquaq; hidâ dabant ei 4 s. ad duos menses. Hos verò denarios Regi non mittebant, sed militibus dabant.

When a Geld was given in general throughout Berkshire, one hide gave 3 d $\frac{1}{4}$. at Christmas, and as much at Whitsontide. If the King sent an Army any whither, from 5 hides, only one Soldier went, and from every hide they gave him 4 s. for 2 Months for his dyet, or pay. But this money they did not send the King, but gave the Soldiers.

It seems to have been the particular privilege of *Berkshire*, to have had the paying its own Soldiers; but as it should seem, other Counties sent the money to the King, or his Officers, who rais'd the men, or caus'd them to be arrayed. But Gelds for the War, and particularly *Hidage*, so far at least

as went to the pay of Soldiers, cannot but be thought to have been exacted by virtue of a Parliamentary Establishment, before the reputed Conquest. And to me it seems, that the Law of King *Ina*, setting a proportion of Meat and Drink upon every Ten Hides of Land, relates to the Army. In which sense *Henry of Huntington*, cited by the Learned *Spelman*, says of *W. II.* "He vex'd his Neighbours with War; his own People with Armies, and continual Gelds.

Vid. Leges
Ine c. 70 De
viectu sup-
pedit. and
Vid. Glos.
Tit. Geld.
Vicinos
Werra, suos
exercitibus
& geldis
continuis
vexabat.

These were such as *Braeton* calls *common Prestations*, in contradistinction to Services coming of course; these, according to him, not being due, but in case of necessity, or when the King went to War; and were introduced by *Necessity, and the Common Consent of the whole Kingdom.*

de consuetudine veniunt, nisi cum necessitas intervenerit vel cum Rex venerit, sicut sunt hidagia, corragia, carvagia & alia plura de necessitate & consensu communi totius regni introducta.

If any man think that I impose upon him with my Conjectures, in relation to the ancient *Gelds*, and particularly *Hidage*, he may with me consult the *Red Book in the Exchequer*; which speaking of Pyrates from the Islands round about, which used to infest and depopulate the Maritime Places, and particularly the *Danes*, says,

Ad hos igitur arcendos à Regibus Anglicis statutum est, ut de singulis hidis regni, jure quodam perpetuo, duo solidi argentei solverentur, in usus virorum fortium, qui perlustrantes & jugiter excubantes maritima, impetum hostium reprimerent. Quia igitur principaliter pro Danis institutus est hic redditus, *Danegeldum* vel *Danegeldus* dicitur.

Therefore for the repelling these, 'twas ordain'd by Kings of England, That Two Shillings in Silver from every Hide of the Kingdom, should be paid by a sort of Perpetual Right, for the use of Valiant Men, who carefully viewing and constantly guarding the Maritime Places, might resist the Insults of the Enemies. Because therefore this Rent or Tax was instituted chiefly by reason of the Danes, 'tis call'd Danegeld.

*Braeton
lib.2.c.16.
Sunt etiam
quodam
communes
prestaciones
que servi-
tia non di-
cuntur nec*

*Vid. Lib.
Rub. in Scio
p. Gerv.
Tilb. Temp.
H. 2.*

*Leges Ed.
Conf. de
Danegeld.*

The Confessor's Law agrees with this in Substance, only makes the Annual Payment but 12 d. per Hide, and says that every Church, and all the Demesne Land of the Church, us'd to be free from it.

By *Gervace of Tilbury* it appears to have been a constant Annual Payment, till the Power and good Government of *Will. I.* suppressed those Pyrates. That Great Prince, (who has been unduly represented as acting like a Conqueror of this Land, as that Author has it,

Noluit hoc ut annum solvi quod fuerat urgente necessitate bellicæ tempestatis exactum. Nec tamen omnino propter inopinatos casus dimitti. Rarò ergo temporibus ejus vel successor. ipsius solutum est ; hoc est , cum ab exteris gentibus bella vel  opiniones bellorum insurgebant.

Would not that this should be paid as Annual, which had been exacted by urgent Necessity in time of War ; nor yet that it should be discharg'd, because of sudden Accidents. Therefore it has seldom been paid in the times of him or his Successors ; that is, when there arose Wars from Foreign Nations, or apprehensions of Wars.

*Selden's
Mare Clau-
sum lib. 2.
c. 15.*

Mr. Selden tells us, That this Tribute or Tax for the Custody of the Sea, which he shews to take in Land as well as Sea-Service, us'd to be paid under *W. I. W. II. H. I. King Stephen* ; and that it appears by the Accounts in the Exchequer, that 'twas sometimes paid under *H. II.*

He observes farther, That after that had ceas'd, some other way of the like nature was frequently us'd ; that Soldiers Wages, and other Provisions for the

the defence of the Sea, and Maritime Parts of *Eng-*

land, might not be wholly wanting.

*Pro mori-
bus patriis
usurpari est*

*solita, ne stipendia & commeatus tuenda regni Anglia provincia maritima omnino
decessent.*

And he cites a Record of the Court of Common-Pleas, 25 E. I. mentioning Land *agisted*, or assessed for the *Custody of the Sea*; under which Name he assures us upon his own knowledge, that Wages and Provisions for *Land-Forces* on the Sea-side, were collected.

*Scimus
quidem eti-
am ad co-
piarum in
littore ter-
restrium stipendia & commeatus, sub id tempus nomine mari corrogari.*

As some of these Taxes were often gathered without an immediate National Consent, to that very Tax or *Geld*: 'tis no wonder that the People of *England* would not be satisfied till they obtained *King John's Charter*, which provides, That no *Escuage* nor *Aid*, unless for particular *Services*, shall be raised without Consent of the *Common Council* of the *Kingdom*; of which *Common Council*, the *City of London*, and other Cities, the *Cinque-Ports*, *Boroughs*, and *Vills* (as appears by that Charter, and at last is yielded by *Dr. Brady*) were to be a part.

This however, as it seems, was but declaratory of the Law, as 'twas as early as the time of *H. II.*; for the great Charter of *H. III.* which as *Matthew Paris* observes, was in nothing unlike to, or differing from *King John's*, has no other provision about this, but that *Escuage* should be taken, as was accustomed in the time of *H. II.* But neither of these Charters seem'd to relate to *Tallage*, which was not of the nature of an *Aid*, but a Duty upon the King's *Demesnes*; and therefore was not within the meaning of

*In nullo
diffimilis.*

*Scutagium
de cetero
capiatur si-
cut capi
consuevit
tempore H.
avisui.
Vid. Jus An-
glor. ab an-
tiquo p. 149*

the Charter of W. I. which declares that all the Free-men of the whole Monarchy of his Kingdom, shall hold their Lands and Possessions well and in Peace, free from unjust Exaction, and *all Tallage*, except their *Free Service*, *which of Right they owe*, and are bound to perform ; and as is appointed and granted them by him hereditarily for ever, by the *Common Council* of his whole Kingdom. One of the Free Services of Demesne Lands, *Tallage* certainly was. The Grievance of which occasioned the Statute in the time of *E. I. de Tallagio non concedendo*, which provided that no *Tallage* or Aid be laid or levied, without the Consent of the *Lords and Commons*.

And yet this seems not absolutely to have taken away that Power which had been exercised by the Kings of *England*, to compel men to find Soldiers at their own Charge; to resist Enemies upon the Borders of *England*, or to keep Soldiers in Garisons, or to guard the Sea Coasts ; which occasioned the Law 25 E. III. whereby 'twas “*accorded and assented*, that “no man shall be constrain'd to find *Men of Arms*, “*Hoblers*, nor *Archers*, other than those which hold “*by such Services*; if it be not by *common Assent and Grant made in Parliament*.

*Stat. 25.
E. 3. c. 8.*

The former ways of supplying Emergencies failing, our Kings, upon representing the Charges of keeping the Marches of *Scotland* and *Wales*, and of great Garisons both at home and abroad, and the like, had, besides the Revenues of the Crown, which were then very large, frequent Grants from their People, under several denominations, as Subsidies, Fifteenths, Tenthys, &c. for the *Defence of the Kingdom*; which ordinarily they and their Counsel were to provide for, according to the best of their Judgments. If you sup-

suppose that this was to be without keeping up any Standing Forces, even in Garisons, unless in time of actual War ; you may as well imagine that when *Tunnage and Poundage* were granted for the defence of the Seas, 'twas not intended that any Naval Force should be provided in times of Peace. The securing of which by such ways as the King pleases, the * *Lords* and *Commons*, ¹ E. II. recognize to belong to the King by reason of his *Royal Seignory* ; and that they are bound to aid him therein as there is occasion.

* Stat. 7. E.
2. Vid. Stat.
ed. An.
1529 p. 41.
Nous eiont
dit que a

nous appent, &c. defendre fortement des armes, & tout autre force, contre nosre pees a toutz les foitz que nos plerra.

Agreeably to this, 'twas usual at the beginning of Parliaments, to have Proclamations, That no body should come armed within the *City of London*, or the *Suburbs*, or other *Places about the City*, or *Palace of Westminster*, except the King's People deputed by him, or his command, for the keeping his Peace there, and except his Officers.

Vid. Rot.
Stat. 16. E.
3. n. 13.
Forspris les
gentz no^{tre}ve

Sur le Roy, queux il voudra deputer ou per son commandement serront deputer pur la gard de la pees es ditz lieux : & forspris les Ministers le Roy solonc la form de l'estat. de Northampton.

This which you, Gentlemen, would take to be a putting Both Houses of *Parliament* into the Power of the King (who according to your Infallible Maxim would use it to their destruction) is declared to be according to the Statute of *Northampton*.

But since you are so positive that till C. II. none of our Kings, unless R. II. had any Standing Force, but in time of War, and particularly that no such thing was ever attempted by either Party that prevailed in the Wars of *York and Lancaster* ; one would think, if you had any degree of ingenuity or attention, you would

History sup.

would have had some consideration of the Objection
from 13000 Archers granted by Parliament, in the
Vid. 1st Let. 31st of H. VI. to continue together for half a year,
p. 30. citing and the same Annual Number for two Years succe-
Rot. Parl. sively, 12 & 13 of E. IV. That the 13000 Archers
12. E. 4. n. 8. & 13. E. 4.
n. 41. granted to H. VI. were not raised with regard to any
present Foreign War, or Domestick Disturbance in
near prospect, is plain by the Circumstances of the
Vid. Rot. Time ; it being after *Jack Cade's* Rebellion had been
Parl. 31. H. quell'd, and when *Richard Duke of York*, who had
6. Jack
Cade and
others at-
tainted. before that time intrusted only his chief Confidants
with his Aiming at the Crown, having like the *Torkists*
of this Age, cloak'd his Designs with pretence of
Zeal for the Liberties of *England*, was, through the
Treachery of some, and Folly of others, chosen *Pro-
tector* of the Kingdom : which laid the chief founda-
tion of the Publick Calamities that attended his
Perjurous, and to him Fatal Claim of a Divine Right,
contrary to his most solemn Declarations and Oath.

Vid. That
*Claim ex-
mined in*
*she Reflecti-
ons upon a*
Treasonable
Opinion
against
signing the
Association.

But whatever may be gathered from the Circum-
stances of the Time, the Act it self shews, that the
Provision had regard to no present Danger ; for the
raising the 13000 men was respite for two Years ;
Rot. Parl.
31. H. 6.
n. 15. " Unless, as the Act says, it please the King to labour
" in his own Person for the *Defence* aforesaid ; or else
" that great and evident *Cause*, concerning or touching
" the *Defence* aforesaid, happen within the said two
" Years, and that by the warning of Three Months.

It appears by the Act 12 E. 4. to have been the
judgment or apprehension of that Parliament, that by
the Stat. 31. H. 6. there was a power vested in the
Crown, at any time when 'twas found necessary for
the *defence* of the Kingdom, to call so many toge-
ther for once at least, at the charge of the People :

and

and therefore when they grant *E. 4.* the like number for a year, they pray that it may please "the King to remit and release for him his *Heirs* and *Successors*, to the Commons their *Heirs* and *Successors*, "all right Exaction and Demand, for the Charge "and finding of 13000 men granted to *H. 6.* during "the time of an half year.

And one of the inducements to their grant of 13000 Archers to *E. 4.* as appears by the Preamble,
12 E. 4.
N. 10.
 was his "having reduced the *Realm* and his true Subjects of the same, out of the dangerous chances of "Battel, into the prosperous and most desired Estate of "Peace.

But then to secure the happy state of peace, they, calling to remembrance "the great jeopardy the Realm standeth in, by the great conspired malice of the Enemies environing the same, and every part thereof ; "for the Wealth and surety of the Realm inward, "and defence of the same outward, make that Grant : which according to the provision 31 *H. 6.* may be thought a Standing Guard to the King's person ; for that was expressly required to be kept together in one entire Body.

And it seems that anciently Archers used to be in constant pay ; for in the 50th of *E. 3.* the Commons having prayed that *Mariners* may have like Wages as *Archers* have ; The Answer is, It shall be as it hath been used.

Pray, Gentlemen ! Be pleased to look into the Rolls of those Parliaments, and consider how you can reconcile 'em with your random-assertion, that the few Guards C. II. kept, were the first ever known to an English King, besides his Pensioners and Beef-eaters : And consider what were the 34000 Foot,

Rot. Parl.
E. 3.
 Rot. Parl.
31 H. 6.
 They shall
be kept
together
as one en-
tire Host.
 Arg. p. 16.

and

and 2000 horse under the Command of the Lord *Hunsdon* which I formerly mentioned to you, that *Q. Elizabeth* had for the guard of her person: Did she think the hearts of her People enough to secure her *Empire*? Or were such as flock'd about her Coach when the Duke of *Alanson* went with her through the City, the only Guard who defended her through a long and successful Reign of 44 years, against all the machinations of Rome, the power of Spain, &c.?

^{1st} Letter
p. 30.

Or were the *Militia* all the Soldiers she made use of for the defence of the Kingdom? when, as I formerly observ'd to you, besides the Guard last mentioned, and 20000 placed on the Coasts of *Sussex*, which I take to have been *Militia*; She had an Army of well disciplined and experienced men, under the command of the Earl of *Leicester*, consisting of 1000 Horse, and 22000 Foot, encamped at *Tilbury*.

These, Gentlemen! acted by the Queen's Commission, and were a *Standing Army* within the very Letter of your definition.

^{Arg p. 14.}
^{Vid. 1st}
Letter
p. 37.
Citing
^{Rushworth}
f. 19. 427.
463.

Though you were so confident, that if *C. I.* had had 5000 men beforehand with the people, they had never struck a stroke for their Liberties; I had before shewn you that he had above 7000 in the Third of his Reign, which were kept in *England* that Winter.

^{Of Forces}
^{in Ireland.}
Hist. p. 3.

You admit a necessity of *Standing Armies* in *Ireland*, if we would not lose the *English Government* there; yet you would have it thought, that the *Parliaments of England* have been so far from regarding that necessity, that because of the greater danger from our Kings at home, they would not suffer our Kings to keep up an Army there: that in
the

the first Three hundred years that the *English* had possession of that Country, there were no Armies, but in the times of War, and that the first Force that was Establish'd, was in the 14th of E. 4. by Parliament there.

At least, one of you, Gentlemen ! might have known enough of the place of his Birth, had not his Education been Foreign, to have prevented such gross mistakes concerning it ; but certainly it shews an admirable understanding to search for the first Establishment of Forces in *Ireland*, in the *Irish Statute Book* ; and because no Establishment can be found there earlier than 14 E. 4. to conclude that the Parliaments of *England* had made no Establishment for *Ireland* sooner ; and that, notwithstanding the acknowledgment of the *Irish Parliament*, of the *vast and almost infinite expence* of Men, Money, Victuals, and Arms, sent out of *England* thither by C. I. and his Progenitors.

*Irish Act
for Subsi-
dies.
11 C. 1.*

Any man that will look into *Cotton's Abridgment*, if he thinks it not worth his while to see the Parliament Rolls at large, may find numerous instances of Parliamentary Establishments, for Forces in *Ireland*, before the time you mention ; but the number of Forces were generally left to the discretion of the Kings and their Councils.

Thus 5 E 3. 'twas fully accorded that the King should pass thither in person ; and that in the mean time *a power* be sent thither, and command be given that all "such as have any Lands there, repair thither for defence of the same.

*Cotton
Abr.Rot.
Parl. 5 E.
3. n. 4.*

In the next Parliament the King's Expedition was deferr'd for another year, so as *aid* might be sent in the mean time.

Rot. Parl.

2 R. 2. N.

14. 24.

29. 30.

7 R. 2. n. 5.

14. R. 2. n.

1. 21 R. 2.

n. 44.

and 75.

Rot. Parl.

1 H. 4.

Rot. Parl.

1 H. 5. n. 9.

Vid. Cot-

ton's Abr.

Richard the 2d in several Parliaments, among other charges of the Government, mentions *Ireland*; and the Parliaments here make several Grants, according to the occasions. In H. 4. they give a subsidy upon Wooll for 3 years, besides one 10th, and one 15th towards the Wars with *Scotland*, defence of *Calais*, provision for *Ireland*, and amendment of the State.

And it seems that *Cedules* or Lists used to be given in of the several Establishments; but not being upon the Parliament Rolls are not now to be found; 'tis certain that the Parliament Roll in H. 5. says, "the Commons give a *Cedula* for provision to be made touching *Ireland*, the *Marches of Wales*, of *Scotland*, and of *Calice*, touching the *Dutchy of Guyenne*, "the safe keeping of the Seas, the Navy of *England*, "and Governance and due Observance, and for sure "provision to be made in Form following.

But no Form is to be found. Indeed certain it is, that generally from the time that H. 2. reduced it to a more absolute Subjection to *England*, than any of his Predecessors had done, Soldiers were kept there in constant pay; and when the Revenue of the Crown could not, with the help of *Irish* Parliaments, bear the charge, the Parliaments here have contributed. No man can imagine that H. 2. left no *English* Garisons upon his bringing the generality of the Nation under the *English* Laws: but besides these the Parliaments of *England* establish considerable Forces there by Tenures:

Vid. The
History
and Rea-
sons of the
depen-
dency of
Ireland.
Hoveden
§. 324.

In a Parliament at *Oxford*, that King distributed the Lands of *Ireland*, and their Services; then 'twas that a Grant was made of the County of *Methe* to *Hugh de Lacy*, and his Heirs, as Sir *John Davy's* has it,

to

to hold by the service of 50 Knights. But *Benedictus Abbas*, an Author of the Time, makes 'em 100. and besides says the King gave *Lacy* the custody of the City of *Dublin*, which being no part of that for which he did his service, had certainly a sufficient Garison at the charge of the Crown.

Whereas you will have it, that our Parliaments Hist. f. 3. would never suffer our Kings to keep up an Army in Ireland, knowing they would be in England when call'd for; This consideration appears to have been one good reason for keeping Forces there. The frequent Wars with the Natives having made their assistance with regular Troops of very great consequence to England. Thus in the Time of *H. 3.* success against the *Welsh* was owing to aid from thence.

In *Edward* the first's time a smart Party from thence as the Historian calls 'em, did that King good service in *Scotland*.

And *E. 2.* had from thence in a War against the *Scots* 300 men at Arms, 1000 Hoblers, 6000 Foot, armed with a Seton, a Sallet, and Gloves of Mail, besides 300 supplied by the Earl of *Ulster*.

Still if you please abound in your own sense, That 120 Archers, 40 Horsemen, and 40 Pages, 14 *E. 4.* was the first Force established in *Ireland*.

Asto that Body of Men which you say *C. 2.* left, I would desire you to reconcile your *History* to your Argument.

Davy's his Rep. f. 64. b.

M. S. In Bib. Cot. An. 1172.

Interea Rex dedit & concessit & carta suâ confirmavit Hugoni de Lasci totam terram de Mida cum pertin. suis tenend. in feodo & hereditate de ipso Rege & hered. suis per servitium C. militum & tradidit ei custodiam civitat Dubelin.

*Cox's Hist.
of Ireland.*

f. 65.

An. 1244.

f. 85.

An. 1295.

Ib. f. 100.

An. 1323.

Argument, p. 16.

Speaking of C. 2's Guards.

" He insensibly increas'd their Number, till he left a Body of Men to his Successor, great enough to tell the Parliament, he would be no longer bound by the Laws he had sworn to.

" them he had increas'd his Army, put in Officers not qualified by the Test, and that he would not part with them.

P. 34.

The utmost number you make C. 2.'s Forces increas'd to, is 6950: according to your Argument with these King *James* ventur'd to deal so freely with his Parliament; but now it seems you have better thought of it, he attempted it not without more than twice the number: But you know great Wits have not the best Memories.

But your Strain of Wit I must confess is admirable, to make the supposed want of opportunities of being rightly inform'd, and the possibility that Officers may recruit, an Argument that you may fairly represent His Majesty's Forces what you please, or as many as if there had been no Reform: Thus you assume a Privilege of adding above Nine thousand to the Forces now in *England*. And with the like Fairness you leave about 3000 which had been in Garrison at *Tanger*, out of the Comparison you make between the Forces of C. II. and His present *Majesty*.

How decently you treat His Majesty, may appear in many Particulars: I may here instance in your Reflection,

History, p. 17.

Speaking of the D. of Monmouth's Defeat.

" King *James* took occasion from hence to increase his Army to between fifteen and sixteen thousand men, and then unmask'd himself, call'd a Parliament, and in an haughty Speech told

" them he had increas'd his Army, put in Officers not qualified by the Test, and that he would not part with them.

Note, the History makes the Total

24741.
Lord Rane-
lagh's List
but 14834
besides 4
Companies
of maimed
and decre-
pid Soldiers,
150 in a
Company.

flection, after the giving your imaginary number of P. 35.
His Forces. P. 31.

" If, say you, the Prince of Orange, instead of tel- P. 37.
" ling us , That we should be settled upon such a
" Foundation, that there should be no danger of fal-
" ling into Slavery, and that he would send back all
" his Forces as soon as that was done ; had promis'd
" us, That after an Eight Years War (which should
" leave us in Debt near Twenty Millions) we should
" have a Standing Army establish'd, a great many of
" which should be Foreigners; I believe few men would
" have thought such a Revolution worth the hazard
" of their Lives and Estates.

Whatever is contained in this Reflection, possibly you may help your selves off with your Imagination, that no such thing has yet happen'd, for that there is no Establishment of any Forces; If it be true what you are so warm upon, That there's no other Establishment of any Forces, but a Vote of the House P. 25.
of Commons, to give Money for Guards and Garrisons. I wish, Gentlemen, your Heat would have given you time to look into the Act of the last Session of the last Parliament ; which in pursuance of that Vote provides for and towards, the Payment and Satisfaction stat. 9 &
of such Sum and Sums of Money, as are or shall be due, 10 W. 3.
owing, or payable [for Land and Sea-Services, per-
form'd and to be perform'd] and the Charges and Expen-
ces relating thereto.

This you may say in your Passion is what our Courts P. 26.
for above a Thousand Years together had never Effrontery enough to ask: But, Gentlemen, if after you have considered the Account which I have laid before you of such like Provisions for Land-Forces, you should still maintain the same Opinion, the World will judge on which side the Effrontery lies. I can-

I cannot think that when you have thought again of these matters, you will repeat your Assertion, That the first Footsteps of a Standing Army, that is, according to your own definition, and the description in that very Page, Forces in the King's Pay in time of Peace, were in R. II.'s time; and that you don't find any King from him to C. I. that attempted keeping up any Forces in time of Peace, except the Teomen of the Guard.

Which is a Mistake much of the same kind with your Assertion, That the *Foreigners* which came over with His Majesty, is the first *Foreign Army* that ever set foot in *England*, but as *Enemies*; by which you must mean as *Enemies* to *England*, if you would make any thing of the Reflection: But then what think you of the *Britons* of *France*, and of the *Saxons* afterwards, which came to the relief of the *Britons* here? The 2000 which came over with E. 4. against H. 6. and the like number with H. 7. against R. 3.

Vid. Antiq. Brit. de An. 436. Pol. Virgil, f. 212. Ib. f. 559. This leads me to the Pertinency of your History, and Strength of your Reasons; which I may well join in one Head, as they illustrate each other, for if the Premises are not to the purpose, your Inferences will fall to the ground; and if you infer not rightly, even where your Premises are the most uncontested, people will be very apt to question their Pertinency to the matter for which you bring 'em.

Suppose you give a true Account of the Land-Forces of Old *Rome* and *England*; is it not proper to enquire what was in those Times the Posture of Affairs in relation to the Nations round about? Did any other Land exceed in Numbers of Subjects, and Regularity of Troops? Did it entertain an Abdicated Prince, and give him hopes of a powerful assistance for his Re-

Restoration? Were the *Seat of power*, and other places of the greatest Wealth and Resort, left open and almost defenceless, otherwise than with the Bodies of men? Or were there many Castles and fortified Towns? If such there were in *England* at the times which you refer to, and are wanting now, when a Neighbouring Prince equals us in Naval, and far over-tops us in Land-Forces, what could be inferred'd from your History, if true, with greater Strength *Vid. Hist.* or Pertinency, than your fine Satyr upon the Reign of *P. 3, 4, 5.* *J. I.*? who by the help of *Toryism*, which then began its Empire, was Arbitrary without either Courage or Army: which is never wanting to subdue those *Passive Natures*, seiz'd with that vain *Superstition*, which makes Kings as terrible as the like fear does the Pagan Deities. According to your History, through this Superstition *C. I.* ventured upon all those *Oppressions* of his Reign, which as you say 'twere *endless to enume-* *P. 6.* *rate*: But you know his Tyranny was *precarious*, because he had *no Army to support him*.

The several Mutations which you pathetically describe in the time when your *Utopian State* began, certainly yield a stronger Argument of the Vanity of such Projects, than of a *Standing Army's* being *Sla-* *P. 1.* *very, Popery, &c.* Then the Nation could not but be in a perpetual Agitation, and a small Accession of Strength to either of the contending Parties, must needs turn the uncertain Scale, till it came to its Center of *Monarchy*. In King *Charles II.* you shew an Arbitrary Disposition, and love to Popery; and that he was possessed of an Army of 12000 men, *P. 13. 3.* which were encamped upon Black-Heath, and hovering over the City of London; yet 'tis your own confession, that these put both the Parliament and City in such confusion, that he was forc'd to disband them. How.

P. 14. How came it to pass, that if C. I. had had but 5000 before-hand with us, the Nation could not have struck one stroke for their Liberties; and yet this Nation forc'd C. II. to disband 12000, tho at the same time he had 10000 more in the French Service, for the most part under Popish Officers? Would all those, and particularly the Lord Dunbarton, have been as generous as General Schomberg, in scorning to put Chains upon a Free People?

The Duke of Monmouth's Misfortune was to be attributed to many Causes; however, the Success of the *Regular Troops* against his Numbers, which all must agree to have been as good as the *Militia*, and headed by an extraordinary *General*; leaves a sad Prospect of the consequence of an Invasion, when there are no *Regular Troops* to make a Stand, and head the *Militia*, or others, that should draw together from all parts.

But tho the late King was flush'd with Success, and had made a great addition to his Armies; the Reception which His present Majesty had, without opposition, shews that a great Army cannot establish Popery and Slavery in England: And yet the very few that came in to His present Majesty, or were in any Military Preparation in the North, tho he gave 'em Encouragement and Opportunity, may leave it a question, Whether a Foreign Popish Army would be likely to meet with considerable opposition from one of a certain Person's Millions, who if it could be Mr. J——n, so eminent for his Zeal and Sufferings against Popery, and those *Doctrines of the Bow-string*, which would introduce that, or Mahometism, much more easily than an Army of 40000 Protestants can possibly do; I cannot but say 'twere an unhappy Evidence, that

*Vid. Confut.
of the Bal-
ancing Let-
ter, p. 12.*

that the greatest Minds may at some times be clouded.

But since that Writer's Fears lye wholly the same way with yours, 'tis natural to think that his Hopes do too; and therefore I may be allowed to treat his envenom'd Dart as taken from your Quiver, and dipt in the same Poyson.

Upon his State of the Question, Whether the Militia P. 1.
as 'tis at present, and the whole Strength of *England* besides, is sufficient to oppose an Invasion, without a Standing Army? he supposes, 1. That tho there should be no force together, 'twere easy to form an Army of the disbanded Soldiers and others, and to put them in order time enough to resist any Invasion.

2. That all men will be united in this.

3. That upon an Invasion, we have 20000 ready enough P. II.
to entertain an Enemy, tho they do not stand regimentally together; and we have 30000 as well finish'd Soldiers as they; and an hundred and fifty thousand more, that either are, or soon may be, as good as either of them; and some Millions of Able Men, who when they are tried, may behave themselves as well as any of them all. Nay, P. 21.
he grows upon it, and afterwards says, In Seven Millions we have so great choice, that if One Million will not fight to defend their Native Country, Another will, and a Third may see fair Play, and a Fourth is a good Reserve, and so are all the rest.

But if Mr. J — n be the Author of that Book, as he sadly experimented how far a sort of People are from being True *Englishmen*; whether the Dread of Foreign Power will unite them that contributed to it at home; and whether his Supposition here agrees with his Notion, That all Strangers within this Land are to be look'd on as Enemies; and that there's an *Englishman* the less for every one of them; I must recommend to his unclouded Thoughts. And I would desire him to consider, whether the Instances are frequent, of Nations, how Populous soever, that have drawn several Armies into the Field one

after another, notwithstanding the Defeat of their best Troops, on which they chiefly depended.

And I would gladly know, whether 'tis reasoning like Mr. J—— n, to say,

The new Trust the Letter (he pretends to confute) infests upon, is an Army which can over-power and conquer the Nation : For it is to be such a Force as can withstand an Invasion which all the Nation besides is not able to do ; that is to say, it can beat those that can beat us, and therefore it can much more beat us. I would desire him but to remember his own State of the Question in relation to the *Militia*, and apply it to such Forces as the Parliament should think fit to continue. This would have moderated his Censures of them who are for some Regular Forces, as if they endeavour to alter the Government at once : go about to *Arm the King against the Constitution* ; put a Trust in the King which no man can deserve ; are for such an absolute *Resignation*, as is only proper to be made to God ; and for the establishing such a Force as is an actual *Surrender of all our Liberties at once*, &c. and would make us as effectual *Slaves as a Conquest can make us*. All these flights of Fancy are grounded upon a manifest begging the question ; and some will think are heightned with not a few Grains of Prejudice, against the Person who is taken for the Author of that Letter.

Something for certain is the cause that makes the whole frame of this Book widely to differ from Mr. J. in Reasoning, tho' it resembles his Stile : Thus the Author would infer that a King of *England* has not absolute Power, because he was empowered by the *Folcmote* ; by the same way of arguing he might conclude that the *Roman Emperors* were not absolute, because as the *Lex Regia* has it, *the people conferr'd all their Power upon 'em* : But 'tis not the Gift as such, but the degree and manner of it, which makes the Power absolute or limited ; and therefore we say a K. of *England* is not absolute, because the People have not made , such

Pref.
P. 9.
P. 16.

such a Resignation of themselves as the *Romans* did to the *Cæsars*, or particularly to *Augustus*.

But you, Gentlemen, know how to comfort him with the assurance, that his Arguments are never the weaker, for the justest Objections ; according to that Noble Paradox, *My Assertions are not the less solid, because some people are Cowards, and others now unaccustomed to what their Ancestors successfully practis'd heretofore.*

Great Wits can reconcile all differences in Persons, Times, and other Circumstances ; make Cowards valiant, and discipline their Militia in a moment, to equal Troops the most inured to War ; and inspire their Principles of Liberty into the *Bigots* for the *Divine Right*, of the next in the Royal Line, to a Power which the People neither gave, nor can limit or qualify.

I am not in the least surpriz'd to find you, Gentlemen, confound Things and Persons, make *Tories* of *Whigs*, and *Whigs* of *Tories* ; any more than I am to find that Advocate for unbounded Liberty, Mr. *J. T.* with decent regard to an Act of Parliament, to charge the Presbyterians with being accessory to Persecution, in joining with others the last Parliament, to promote Penal Laws against those that deny the Mysteries of Christianity : nor do I wonder at his mighty concern for *High Church*, lest by a prudent Comprehension the Profits should be divided, and the Protestant Interest strengthned and united under King *William*. When he pretends to express the Wishes of all *Good Men* against a Comprehension, and for the National Church establish'd by Law to engross the Profits; he leaves it a question, Whether *Socinianism*, whose Suppression he dreads, is not dearer to him even than a *Commonwealth*, which he with all his Art can never propose to set up on so narrow a bottom. However, 'tis evident Mr. *Harrington* never did; whose *Oceana*, or *Agrarian*, and new jumbling *thren* in Scotland about Persecution, &c. P. 79. After ridiculing the Project of a Comprehension — *The Wishes of all good men are, that the National Church being secured in her Worship and Emoluments, &c.*

*Milit. ref.
p. 67.*

*Life of J.
Milton, p.
77, 78. By
reason of
the Presby-
terians
warmly
joining
with others
the last
Parliament
to promote
Penal Laws
against the
Socinians,
I find few
people will
believe
that those
in England
differ from
their Bre-*

Life of M p. 122. of Property, Mr. J. T. recommends as the *most perfect Form of a Commonwealth, for the Practicableness, Equality, and Compleatness of it, that ever was delineated by any Ancient or Modern Pen.*

But should Mr. J—n's Fears lye all one way, against nothing but the Power of King *William*; should he forget from whence the Barbarities inflicted upon him came, and whence his Deliverance; how far *Church Bigotry* advanced to the Ruin of the Constitution, and how 'twas preserv'd by a Foreign Force; would not some impute his new Fears to a turning of his Brain; especially when they come to observe how grossly he, if he writ the pretended *Confutation*, mistakes the Authorities which he urges against a General Act of Naturalization, and the admitting Strangers among us?

*Of their
Mistakes
concerning
the Constitu-
tion of this
Monarchy.*

It has sufficiently appear'd above, and might more fully, that your Reflections upon the Ministry for their endeavours to have a sufficient *Land Force*, under Parliamentary Regulations and Establishment, are grounded upon gross mistakes of the Constitution, as it relates to *Soldiery*. Nor will you be found more knowing in other Branches of it.

*Pref. to the
Hist. P. 4.*

R. 5.

According to your exact knowledge of all its Particulars, from the time that the *Romans* quitted this Isle, you affirm, That the *Places in the King's Gift* were but few, and most of them *Patent-Places for Life*: To enhance the Charge against the Court for making more Places than us'd to be, you bring in the Commissioners for Hackney-Coaches, and other Officers, whose Numbers are appointed by Act of Parliament; and therefore must needs be held to have been without any breach of the Constitution: As to others 'twill be very difficult to shew that there are more now in the King's Gift, than his Predecessors used to have. Certain 'tis, 1. That there were many Offices which are wholly discontinued, or not in the Crown, because of the alienation of those Hundreds, Bayliwicks, Mannors, &c. on which they depend; and others,

which

which tho' kept up in Name, have very insignificant Salaries or Perquisites ; for which I chuse to instance in Military Offices, such as the Government of Castles and Towns formerly fortified. 2. Many of your Friends now enjoy Offices either during Life, or as long as they behave themselves well ; some of which according to ancient Custom, were to be only during pleasure ; and others are void, as being held by colour of *non obstante's* to Statutes : Of which I can, when occasion requires, shew great numbers.

Therefore I may conclude, that according to the Constitution, the King and the Court ought to have the disposal of more Offices, than they now take upon them to dispose of.

Again, you say, *Our Government trusts the King with no pref. p. 7. part of the Legislative, but a Negative Voice.*

Whereby you would take from the King the liberty to propose ; which, if you consult the Rolls of Parliament, and other Records, you will find to have been the undoubted Right of the Crown ; and indeed it might with as much colour be said, that anciently the Lords and Commons us'd only a Negative, when the Bills were proposed ready drawn by the King's Council: But 'tis past dispute that either proposed to the other, as there was occasion.

Then you affirm with great assurance, that formerly all "matters of state and discretion were debated and resolv'd "in the Privy-Council, where every man subscrib'd his "Opinion, and was answerable for it : And that the Late "King Charles was the first who broke this most excellent "part of our Constitution, by settling a Cabinet "Council. Whereas,

I. The substance of the Cabinet Council has been very ancient, and that allowed of by Parliament, as appears by their settling a *Quorum* of persons most confid ed in, without whose presence no arduous matter was to be determined ; and yet they had power to act without consulting the rest of the Council. Thus

*Vsd. Rot.
Parl. de
H. 6.*

Vid. Thus as long since as the 28th of H. 3. a Charter pass'd,
 Mat. Par. in affirmatione of the Ancient Right of the ^bKingdom, which
^{28 H. 3.}
^{De communi assensu quam tuore religantur potentes & nobiles.} provided that 4 great Men chosen by *common assent*, who
 were to be Conservators of the Kingdom, among other
 things should ^c see to the disposing of the Monies given by
 Parliament, and appropriated to particular uses; and ^d Parlia-
 ments were to be summon'd as they should advise. But even
^{b Et erunt libertatum Conservatores.} of ^e these four any two made a *Quorum*; and ^f generally
^{c Per visum & testimonium eorum tractetur Thesaurus domini Regis & pecunia ab universis specialiter concessa ad} the Chief Justice of *England*, and Chancellor were of the
 number of the Conservators, or in the Modern Language,
 of the *Cabinet Council*. Not particularly to observe the
 resemblances to this in the Ages downwards; In the ^g first
 of H. 6. the Parliament provides that the *Quorum* for the
 Privy Council be 6 or 4 at the least; and that in all
 weighty Consultations the *Dukes of Bedford and Gloster*,
 the King's Uncles, should be present.

^{commodum domini Regis & Regni expendatur, &c.} ^a *Nec sine ipsis sed cum necesse fuerit & ad eorum instantiam iterum convenienter universi* ^e *Et si non omnes duo ad minus presentes sint, &c.*
^f *Et quia frequenter debent esse cum duo Rege poterunt esse de numero Conservatorum.*

^g Rot. Parl. 1. H. 6. n. 30. n. 31

2. Twill be difficult for you to find the least footsteps of
 any Constitution, requiring the *Council* to subscribe their
 Opinions. Indeed as early as 1 H. 6. there's a provision suit-
 able to the practice at this day, for the *Clerk* of the *Council* to
 enter, who was present from time to time, that it might be
 seen, as the Roll has it, *what Law, and by whom any thing*
passest.

Since this is done at this day, this reflection vanishes
 with the rest of like grounds; nor will your Friend the Au-
 thor of the suppos'd *Confutation*, appear either to know the
 Constitution better, or to represent it more fairly, in re-
 lation to *Foreigners*, he says indeed, "That the Wisdom
 "of the Nation in former Ages, by which we subsist at
 "this day, was against the admitting any Aliens into the
 "Kingdom, unless it were Merchants for the sake of Com-
 "merce, and they too were restrain'd in these two points,
 "besides divers others, not to take an House, nor stay above
^{Of Foreigners in England.}
^{Confutatio-}
^{n p. 25.} "40 days,

" 40 days, as we find by the *London Petition*, reciting the
" Ancient Usages, and the Act made upon it 5 E. 3.

'Tis but just that he who would render his Native Coun- Rot. Parl.
try so inhospitable, should stumble at the Threshold ; for, 50. E. 3.
De fair

1. Both the Petition and Answer relate only to the City leur de-
of London, and its Suburbs. meure ou-
tre 40 jours
la. Resp.
Deins la
distr. &c.

2. The Answer even in relation to London, excepts some Foreigners, saving to the Merchants of the Hanse of Alle-
main, the Franchises granted them, and confirm'd by E. 3 ds Progenitors. Whether this be an honest Quotation, or rightly understood by this Celebrated Author, I leave you to judge.

Indeed he might have cited the *Mirror* with better co- Mirror.
lour ; which speaking of Laws made by King Alfred, and c. i. Sect. 3.
following Kings says, " All Merchant Aliens were forbid to defendus
frequent England, except at 4 Fairs ; nor were any of fuit quanul
them to stay in the Land above 40 days. Merchant
alien, &c.

This at first sight looks like an Authority his way ; but take it with the *Mirrors* Explanation, and 'twill appear that no man was to continue an Alien 40 days ; but if he staid so long, was to take the Oath of Allegiance, and from that time he became a Liege and Natural Subject ; for the *Mirror* among the abusions of the Law, reckons it one, " That any one above the Age of 14 years, whether Eng- Mirror.
lish or Alien, should be suffer'd to stay in the Realm, if p. 283. A-
" he be not sworn to the King, by Oath of Fealty, and Frank b.
pledge, and in a Tithing. Anglois en
alien. Sil ne soit
jure al Roy
per serement de
fealty &
plevise &
en dasiencs

This shews that in the Eye of the Law they are the true Aliens, and out of the King's Protection, who will not Swear Allegiance to him.

And the *Mirror* shews how mistaken this Confuter was, in urging the Law of Frank pledges, to prove that in such a Constitution " twas impossible for a stranger to thrust " in his Nose.

As 'twas not impossible for Foreigner s to be known to their Correspondents here, and to be confederated with them Cno p. 26.

Leges Can-
nati c. 52.
Habent
omnis do-
minus fa-
miliam
suam in
plegio suo.
Vid Leges
Aluredi

them by mutual Oaths, for the defence of the King and Kingdom ; 'twas far from being impossible, that *English* men should be bound for the good behaviour of such Strangers : and then Merchants and other Strangers of Quality, might retain many with them in their Families, by virtue of the Law, which made every *Master of a Family* the *Pledge*, or Sponsor for his own *Family*.

c. 30.

Coram pra-
posito Regio
in frequenti
populi con-
ventu.

Quæ ex equo
jure coacta
populi con-
cione qua-
sita fuerint.

And I would desire you, or the *Confuter*, to tell me your sense of King *Alfred's* Law about Merchants, which provides, " That Merchants carry before the King's Officer " in a full Convention of the people, those whom they bring " to Land with them out of the Ship; and shew their num- " ber, and then they may retain them with them, to have " them ready to answer all those things which shall be de- " manded, according to Law, in the Assembly of the People.

This I take to relate to the monthly Assembly of the People at the County Court, or the usual Court day in any City or Town where they arrived : and according to the Explanation of this which we may take from the Mirror, they were to be demanded whether they would take the Oath of Allegiance, or depart the Kingdom.

Vid Graft.

Ann. 1206.

Farther yet, to shew how the Notion of *Aliens* is mi- staken, it seems a great Question, whether in the Eye of the Law, from within the Time of King *John*, to the making the Statute *De Prerogativa Regis*, any were truly *Aliens*, but such as were of the Allegiance of the King of *France*, and had not sworn Allegiance to the King of *England*. *Philip* King of *France*, having wrested *Normandy* out of the hands of the *English*. 7 of King *John*, then, or some short time after, a Law was made, which by way of Reprisal, Vested in the Crown of this Realm, the Lands which the *Normans* had here : which were called the *Escheats of the Normans*.

Thus I find *Breweton* said to be of the Lands of * *Vid. Test.*
 the *Normans*, and Granted out by King *John*, and ^{de Nevil}
 the Manour of *Warblinton*, said to be the Kings ^{temp.} *E. I.*
Escheat, as being Land belonging to *Normans*. ^{In scio}

The Statute supposed to be made, 17. E. 2. tho'
 I take it to have been made in 17. E. 1. declaring ^{De Escha-}
 the Kings *Prerogative* in some particulars, says, the ^{etis, de} *Terris Nor-*
 ' King shall have the *Escheat* of the Lands of ^{Eschaeta}
 ' *Normans*, of whose Fee soever they be. It adds ^{dni Regis}
 ' so 'tis to be understood, If any *Inheritance Descend* ^{sicut Terra}
 ' to any born in Forein Parts, and whose Ancestors ^{Normanno-}
 ' were of the Allegiance of the King of France, from ^{rum.}
 ' the time of King John, and not of the Allegiance
 ' of the King of England.

By this it seems there might be a Double *Allegiance*; and he who had been born in *France* and swore
 to that King, might, by Residing and Swearing
 Allegiance here, cease to be an *Alien*, within the
 meaning of that Law. And * *Bracton*, who writ
 in the Reign of H. 3. Treating of the Exception, * *Bracton*
 because an *Alien*, says, 'there are those that are ^{lib. 5. De}
 ' of the Allegiance of both Kings, as *William Earl* ^{Exception-}
 ' *Marshal*, Residing in *England*, and *Michael de* ^{ne quia}
 ' *Seins* Residing in *France*, and others. ^{alienigena.}

But it seems by *Bracton*, that in his time, they
 who were only of the Allegiance of the King of
France, * might recover *Lands and Tenements*, in * *Bracton*
 an Action at Law, when there was Peace between ib. *Talis*
 the two Kingdoms: Tho' till the Statute *De natis* non ris-
ultra mare *, which allows of the Certificate of a pondea-
French Bishop to prove Legitimation; the Son of an tur, saltem
English-man, born when his Father were abroad, donec ter-
 even upon Merchandizing, or in an Ambassadors rra fint
House, could not be proved Heir in a real Action, for commu-
 * *Stat. 25.* nes.
 E. 3.

Littleton
Sect. 193.

want of such a Certificate as our Law could take notice of; yet I take it to be beyond question, that all *Aliens* residing in *England*, and qualifying themselves by the Oath requir'd of Resyants, if they ~~were~~ were not of the *Allegiance of the King of France*, might Purchase Lands in *England*, which should descend to their Heirs, till at least the 17th. of E. 1. By Littleton's time, who Writ in the Reign of E. 4. the Law was taken to reach farther against men Born beyond Sea than before, for by that time, all who were born *out of the King's Allegiance* were counted *Aliens*, not excepting those whose Fathers and Mothers, are *English*: *1 R. 3. f. 4.* contrary to the opinion of the Learned Judge *Hussey* in the time of R. 3. who held, that by the *Common Law*, and especially by the *Statute*, such are *De-nizens*.

Of Alls of Naturalization, and of Naturalization, the Forms of some of which only declare them Liege and Natural Subjects; which possibly is not thought of by some, who would not only Exclude Foreiners, but many of the Kings Natural Subjects of English Parents, from the Priviledges of English Men: not thinking of Sir William Temples Maxim, that a good Government ought to resemble a Pyramid with as large a Basis as may be.

*Vid. Will. Temples
Miscellaneies.*

p. 23.

But a General *Act of Naturalization*, the Confuter says is, 'a Project so contrary to our Constitution, that he who has the Original *Magna Charta*, with King John's Seal to it, may find there, if he pleases to look into it, this Original English Right, that all Strangers shall be removed out of the Kingdom,

To

To me, who had not only seen Prints of King John's Charter, but examined as diligently as I could, that in the Cotton Library, (which is no less an Original, for not now having the King's Seal to it) this Assertion seem'd very strange ; especially finding there these Clauses.

50. 'Let all Merchants, unless such as are publicly Prohibited, be safe and secure to go out of England, and come into England, and to go as well by Land as by Water, to Buy or Sell, without any manner of evil Tolls, according to the ancient and right Customs : Unless in time of War, and that they be of a Land in a War against us.

51. 'And if such are found in our Land, at the beginning of a War, let them be attach'd without damage of their bodies or Goods, till it be known by us or our Chief Justice, how the Merchants of our Land are treated in the Land at War against us : And if ours are safe there, let others be safe in England.

52. 'Be it Lawful for every one henceforth, to go out of our Kingdom, and come back safely and surely by Land and by Water ; care being taken of our allegiance : Unless in time of War for some short time, by reason of the publick Good of the Kingdom : Except Persons Imprison'd and Outlaw'd, according to the Law of the Kingdom, and People in War against us, and Merchants ; concerning whom, let it be done as is abovesaid.

This is a manifest Invitation to other Foreigners besides Merchants, if either they would swear Allegiance, according to what the Mirror shews to have been required of all, who would stay here above 40

Days, or at least would not give reasonable grounds to apprehend their endangering the Kings Peace.

Confutation
Pag. 30. To imagin, therefore, that all Strangers were by King John's Charter to be amoved out of the Kingdom, were to suppose it contradictory and inconsistent with it self.

Articuli magnæ chartæ sub sigillo Reg. for the Charter it self; but either mistakes or disinf. job. penes genuously represents that Preliminary Article doctissi. mum Epm which relates to *Foreigners*, which was, that the Salisb. Ar. King should amove Foreign Mercenary Soldiers and tic. 6 quod others, who came with *Horses and Arms for the da- Rex amo. veret mili- mige or destruction of the Realm.*

tes stipen- diarios & alios qui against those, who came over in *Arms against the venerunt Kingdom*, I take, Gentlemen to be by one of your cum equis, & armis ad usual Figures.

The Confuter, supposing this to take in all Strangers, says, 'Accordingly the practice was ever, both before and since, to keep Strangers out of the Kingdom; or when ever they got in, and encreas'd to any number, to expel them, and set them a fatal Day for their departure: By which time they all shrunk away and vanished, like so many Phantasms or Apparitions: For so the Old Historians pleasantly express it. Which is not only to bring all Foreigners into what related to such only as had been complain'd of; but to apply to King John's Charter, and the consequent upon that, what upon Examination, will appear to have been spoken of the time of Henry the Third, or some other Prince, who gave just Jealousy to his People: This indeed King John had done, but he was so far

nocumen-
tum regni.

Confut.
Pag. 23.

far from amoving all dangerous *Foreigners*, after the signing those Articles, that he used the assistance of many of 'em who continued in *England* from before that time, and had others who came over afterwards, to support the Violations of his *Great Charter*.

Vide *Annales waverlenses* f. 181. de Anno 1215. Rege vero è contra per alienigenos & alios sibi adhaerentes favissime debacchante multiplicata sunt mala, & interim applicuerunt in *Angliam* alienigenæ barbari & magna multitudo diversar. linguarum, errorem Regis pertinaciter confoventes.

As a right Line exposes the obliquity of the Crooked, I need not give the Quotations as they are used in that Book, their due Character: but they have so little of Mr. *J—n's* Judgment or Sincerity, and relish so much of your judicious and fair way of representing Persons and things; that your obtruding upon the World, that inconsiderate Rant as Mr. *J—n's*, seems to me a *Master-piece* of your Politicks, next to your colouring a Project for inciting the *French King* to break the Peace, by laying *England* open to his Arms, with a pretence of Zeal for the Constitution and Liberties of your Country.

I wonder not to find the old Game revived, which in the late times was plaid with success, by Sir *Job Charlton* and others, who cover'd their Designs for bringing in C. the II. with appearing mighty zealous for a *Commonwealth*. But to examine the Truth of your pretended Zeal for the Liberties of your Country, or the knowledge which accompanies it, 'twill be requisite to take a short View of your Means for securing those Blessings which you would be thought the most concerned for.

The *Confuter*, who would have all Foreigners of whatever Religion, and how much soever they have

have signaliz'd themselves, in the Service of his Majesty and this Nation, to be reputed *Enemies*, thinks one great Point for securing the Constitution, were to Banish all Foreigners.

With him there's no danger from Men of *Fo-*
pag. 147. *reign Allegiance*, tho' it be Popery ; which, as *J. T.* has licence to observe from Mr. *Milton*, is *intolle-*
rable, not as 'tis a Religion, but as a Tyrannical Facti-
on, oppressing all others.

That the *Constitution* do's not require the departure of *Foreigners*, has appeared above : The true Argument against 'em is *Toryism* at the bottom ; which is, That they are not to be supposed so zealous for preserving to the *National Church, her Wor-*
Life of Mil- *ship and Emoluments*, as Mr. *J. T.* expresses himself,
ton, p. 79. in complaisance to his New Friends.

But Foreigners united with us, in the common Interest of all Protestants, and the mutual Confederation of Oaths, to *defend the King and Kingdom* ; by all indifferent persons must be held to bring additional Strength and Riches to the Nation : especially if careful provision be made, that the generallity of 'em, be well employ'd in Agriculture, Manufactures, or working in Mines ; whereby an immense Treasure might be added to the Nation, and the Ballance of Trade so turned on our side, that we should fetch Money from every Nation with which we dealt : the Advantages of which
Essay, p. 24, are frequently observed by the Author of the *Essay*
25, 27, 28, upon probable Methods of making a People Gainers in
36, 50, 78, the *Ballance of Trade*. To which I may add, That whatever encrease of People any Nation has from its own stock, is for several Years an addition to the Charge ; as the Children must be maintain'd by the labour
79.

labour of others; whereas Strangers, for the most part, come over adult, in a capacity to add to the Wealth of the Nation: And if they occasion Hardships to any of our Artificers, by their cheap way of living, the more they enrich the Kingdom, and prevent our Trading abroad, for those things with which they supply us at home. 'Tis well known, That our most advantageous Manufactures have been brought hither, or improved, by Foreigners, whose descendants are become as true English Men, as even your selves; and that the *French Refugees* settled in *Canterbury*, have vastly diminished the Trade of *Lyons*, and serve for a much better purpose than to make a dearth of Provisions: If their passive and slavish Principles were of great use to C. II. and very instructive to his own People how to bear all the Hostilities of their Prince; certainly they fell very short of those Tools to Arbitrary Power which you carelessly, as the chief *Patriots*, next to your selves. Nor must it be forgoten, that but for the Treachery of your Friends, and assistance against the brave *Rochellers*, the *French Hugonots* had to this day continued Examples of Christian Fortitude, in opposing that Antichristian Tyranny, which they cannot be said to have submitted to of choice, as your dear Friends have done.

But what ever Objection you may have against the *French*; methinks you should not apprehend any Accession to Absolute Monarchy from the settling here of *Dutchmen*, whose Arms threw off the Spanish Yoak, with disadvantages insuperable, but for the Courage and Conduct of the *Orange Family*, who have been raised up for *Deliverers* of oppressed Nations.

Confutation,
p. 28, 29.

Since all unprejudiced Persons must agree, that Industrious Foreigners, United in the same Sacred and Civil Interest, and Oaths for mutual Preservation and Support of the Government, are to be looked on as Strength and Riches, to a Nation ; That which is most likely to encourage such to settle here, must needs be a probable means to Strengthen and Enrich *England*. Since therefore, (without an Act of *Naturalization*, general to all who will come under fit Qualifications,) as the Law now stands, or is taken, they cannot have the Privilege of *Englishmen*, without such a Charge, as none but the Wealthy and least Industrious can bear ; to me it seems that an Act of *Naturalization*, with due provisions for their Renouncing *Foreign* both *Religion* and *Allegiance*, would be greatly for the Publick good.

But since the *Confuter* supposes all *Foreigners* of whatever *Religion* or Country, to be Enemies, and that every one of 'em ought to have an *Englishman* to Guard or engage, him upon an Invasion ; and Experience tells us, that all Papists, tho' Natives, and all that refuse the Oaths to this Government, are at least equally dangerous with *Protestant Aliens* ; besides which, there are a loose and desperate sort of People disposed to fall in with any Power that may give 'em hopes of a Change ; and others, who expect upon a Confusion, to have a new Forming of the Government, according to the beloved *Agrarian* Model ; how many of the *Confuters* Millions can be thought likely to oppose an Invasion ? especially if it be considered, that a Person more exact in his Computation, holds, that the number of *Fighting-Men* between 16 and 60, is but

One Million, Three Hundred and Eighty Thousand *Essay p. 22.*
Men.

They who argue so warmly against all Regular Forces, and so much value the numbers which would be drawn together to oppose a *Forein Invasion*, would do well not only to consider how many were ready to joyn that Power, which came to Rescue 'em from ascertain ruin, but to recollect the passages of the doughty Adventure at that time, against the Boughs and Bodies of Trees, which the shades of approaching night and horror, having Represented as so many Armed Men, did more mischief than *Don Quixot's Wind-Mill*; when the *Posse* of several Counties; the *Gentry*, with their Servants and Followers, taking a false Alarm, without thinking to send out *Scouts*, or to consult any thing but their panick fears, left their Baggage and Portmanteaus behind 'em in their Flight; and verified of Wealthy Soldiers, what the *Satyrift* says of a Man that Travels by night with a Charge of Money,

Motaque ad Lunam trepidabit arundinis umbram.

Tho the Living *Heroes* may not be very fond of having their Names Recorded to Posterity, for this Adventure; That it may be no question what time I speak of, 'twas when Mr. *Wren Bray's* fright, or the immediate Consequence of it, hastened his End.

To come to the particular means proposed by you Gentlemen of the *Rota*, for the securing this Nation and it's Liberties; sometimes you Insinuate that we have need of nothing but a good *Naval provision*: Thus in one of your *Rhapsodies*, very differ-

Letter con-
cerning Guards,
&c. p. 2.
Argument
p. 1.
p. 19.

ing that from that leanness of Thought, and flatness of Expression, which you charge upon all that call your Oracles in question ; you say, These *Halcyon* days we enjoy amidst such an Universal Hurricane must be Solely Attributed to our Tutelar God Neptune, who with a Guard of winged Couriers so strongly Intrenches us, &c. and you speak with assurance, that no Invasion can be so sudden upon us, but we shall get ready our whole Fleet, bring some Forces from Scotland and Ireland, and prepare our own Militia if there shall be occasion for it.

Where you are so far from relying upon the Naval Strength, that you confess a necessity of preparing a *Militia* ; and suppose it fit to have them supported by *Regular Forces* from Scotland and Ireland.

But in case all three Nations be Invaded at once, your Scheme of defence fails : And they who understand more of the Sea than you can pretend to, will tell you, that for near two third Parts of the year, with South or South West Winds, the French may come upon us or *Ireland*, when our Fleet can't Stirr out to defend us ; that in a few Hours time they may Tide it out of *Fort-Lewis, Brest* and *Rochford*, and may come into their own open Bays ; that from *Stoaks-Bay* they may be able to destroy our Fleet at *Portsmouth*, tho' we have a good Garrison there, much more if there be not ; and that at the very time when the Earl of *Oreford* obtained so Glorious a Victory, there were great odds against the probability that his Invincible Courage, Conduct, and Diligence, should have carried out our Fleet at that time ; and after all 'twas chance or rather Providence, which united the Squadrons :

This

This was much more *Miraculous*, than that *Admi rals* should declare against the Fleet; when those *Wing ed Coursers* have been insisted on as our only *Guard*. *Vid. Hist. p. 39.*
 Besides, how sure soever that *Guard* be, how many *Admirals* would, like the Earl of Oreford, have run a greater risk at home than from the Enemy, in venturing to preserve our Fleet and save the Nation, to the disappointment of the Intelligencers from hence, and hazard of an Impeachment, from men powerful to Accuse?

Upon Cooler Thoughts, you have found out an other *Guard* besides the *Fleet*, which is a *Militia* ^{Argument.} *Reduced to 60000*, a *third Part* of which should be kept by turns in constant Exercice: Into these, contrary to your Notion of the *Roman Discipline*, you ^{ib. Why may not a Man be listed till Discharged by his Master.} admit Servants; but unluckily put the Officers upon a necessity of having raw Men, as often as Masters and Servants part. This Scheme you are so fond of, that you Dress it up in a particular Treatise, in which *J. T.* who is proud to own it, expatiates upon the *Roman Story*, and upon his Abilities to Write an History, which shall equal any of the *Romans*, and by which he should think to *Dishonour* some Men more, by silencing their Names, than by relating their Actions, which he counts *Infamous*.

Tho' the *Argument* was his Copy for the *Militia*, his first Proposition is a Departure from it; confining the *Militia* to the *Free-Men* only: *Vid. Sup. Militia Reform'd p. 18.* I need not run through all the absurdities of his Scheme; since he owns that all is irrecoverably lost, if you only oppose the Enemy with undisciplin'd multitudes.

'Till therefore he shew it probable, That the Freemen will leave their Families and Professions, to follow the Exercice of Arms, and if they do, shall be expert Soldiers, before an Enemy can Land and march up to 'em ; his *Militia* may be respited, till he flourish an *Archon* at the Head of his *Utopia* ; then he may divide to every one his share, according to the most perfect *Form* of a *Commonwealth*, that ever was delineated by any Pen, not excepting Mr. Harrington's own Description of the *Jewish Commonwealth*, or the more *Ancient* one, by the Inspired Writer *Moses*.

But surely the Men of Property, who are so fond of the Complements he makes 'em, to draw 'em from their Trades and Families, do not consider, that he deals with 'em, as you Gentlemen do with King *William*, and not only the last Parliament, but even this, whom you apply to with all your Arts of sweetning, yet tell 'em in effect, that they destroy the Constitution. Some of your fine Flourishes to his *Majesty*, have been sufficiently Observ'd, by me and others ; but who would have thought, that after you had said, "The whole Body of the People, in two Parliaments, have given sanction to the juster Opinion, and (with a true Roman Resolution, worthy their Illustrious Predecessors, worthy the noblest, the manliest, the best Cause in the World, the Cause of Liberty) have declared, That they have Courage, Honesty, and Wisdom enough to defend themselves, and that they want no Keepers ; you should almost in the same breath, charge this very Parliament, with allowing the King *near double as many Forces as are necessary* ? and this without any consideration.

Letter concerning Guards, &c. p. 4.

Letter, p. 7.

sideration of the 12000 Men, which they would have kept up in *Ireland*, who, according to you, can be here whenever the King pleases ; besides the 5000 in *Scotland*, and almost 6000 in *Holland*, which, as you reckon in all, amount to 33000 Men, and, as if they were all in *England*, call 'em a dangerous and dreadful Force, and such an one as our *Apostate Whigs*, in any Reign, wherein they were not in the Ministry, would have thought sufficient to have Enslaved the Nation : but this very Parliament which you flatter, it seems has not made such provision against this dreadful Force as you, not being in the Ministry, think sufficient to enslave the Nation.

Letter con-
cerning Ma-
riners p. 7.

Besides, you should remember, That your History, p. 25. owns, that the last Parliament, which shares in your soothing Rhetorick, voted 350000 l. for Guards and Garrisons ; you may know, that they computed this to be sufficient Maintenance for a year then to come, for some thousands more than this Parliament have voted ; and that Provision was made accordingly, by an Act of Parliament.

Your Opinion of this, and all other Parliaments, History, p. 20. that have not judged by your Rules, appears by many Instances, especially by your Maxim, That the consent of Parliament would not make a standing Army (which in your lowest and latest acceptance, is any Force more than is necessary) less dangerous.

But since, as I have shewn, Parliaments have generally trusted their Kings with regular Forces, or power to raise and keep them up, for the Defence of the Kingdom (though indeed, when they had

had reason to be jealous of their Kings, they appointed some Great Men of their Choice, to have some share in the Trust) but according to you, all who urge the necessity of more than a good *Fleet*, and an un disciplined *Militia*, are *Conspirators* against their *Country*; Can it be thought, that most of the *Members* of this and the last *Parliament*, where you may use that *unbounded Liberty*, which you labour for, are not charged with a *Conspiracy* or *Apostacy*, while the *late*, or *non-Associators* are the most *sturdy Patriots*?

But others will think, that they may with a juster freedom say, the Men who attempted, during the last Parliament, not only to have the *Regular Forces* disbanded, but the *Militia*, for a Project, which would require a Year at least for bringing to any head, were for inciting an Invasion ; and however, according even to *J. T.* they could not be for the support of this Government ; for he confesses, That

Militia Re-
formed, p. 16. "all Countries must have some Force to defend them,
against Foreign Invasions and Domestick Tumults;
"for as it was their own good and Security which
"occasioned men first to quit the state of Nature,
"and to associate themselves into Governments, so
"the raising and regulation of their Forces must be
directed and accommodated to the same ends.
What's the
reason bee'd
have this so
defeuceless. p. 17. "An Island (says he) is best situated for prefer-
vation, as having need of little other Force,, either
"to infest foreign Coasts, or to protect its own,
"besides a numerous Fleet, which it can never want.
Vide *This in*
substance in
Harring-
ton's Ocea-
na. "But if it be likewise a Government for encrease, such
"as ours, its Situation naturally leading it to Trade,
"and planting of Colonies; and if it has the no-
ble Ambition of holding the Ballance steady be-
tween

"tween other Governments, of succouring the
"Distress'd, and grudging Liberty to none, [then
"it must be always provraed with a considerable Land
"Force.]

This, Gentlemen ! is one of the Books, which if *History*, p.
you don't all value your selves upon, is stamp'd with^{2.}
your particular Approbation : But since 'tis own'd,
that a considerable Land Force is necessary for England;
that all must be irrecoverably lost, if there be none but
undisciplin'd Multitudes to oppose the Enemy ; And *Militia Re-*
'tis not pretended, that the present *Militia* is yet suf*form'd*, p.
ficiently Disciplin'd, or that your Project, if esta- 73.
blish'd, could soon be reduced to Practice and Order ;
and yet you would have the whole Army Disband-
ed, having in your assuming way demonstrated be-
yond the possibility of a Reply, that small numbers of *Letter con-*
Men may and have destroyed the Liberties of Potent cerning Ma-
Nations ; what can Men think of your *Demonstrati-* *riners.*
on, but that 'tis as much for the preservation of the
Government, as charitable to the Soldiers, for whom,
as you publickly insult, you have taken care, least
they should be knock'd on the Head : But can any Man,
who loves the *Liberties* of England join with them,
who either would Sacrifice 'em to an *Abdicated* or
Foreign Power, or to a meer *Chimera*, that most per-
fect form of a *Commonwealth*, which Mr. J. T. re-
commends ? not being aware of the danger of com-
passing and imagining the Subversion of the *Monarchy* :
To Men of such designs, I will own there's more dan-
ger from King *William* and his *Protestant Successor*,
than from the late King, or Prince of Wales, tho'
back'd by the Power of *France*, and that tho' *Spain*
should be in *French Hands*.

But

But would not the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, and other the *Proprietors* of *England* be very Wise, should they, or any number of 'em, be led by *J. T.* or the most Eloquent of you all, to struggle for his excellent form of a *Commonwealth*, after he has so fully open'd his Scene, and explain'd himself for the old *levelling Agrarian*, according to which, property must be put in *Hoth-porch*, and he, who has an unwieldy share of Land within *J.T.'s Government*, must submit to have it sliced and pared away, 'till 'tis but enough to furnish out the Owner and his Sons for the Wars.

After all, how Ambitious soever he may be, of being thought an Eminent Promoter of that Model; they, who believe him in earnest, while they have good thoughts of his Sincerity, must undervalue his Understanding, to think he could impose upon himself, in the expectation of seeing it establish'd here: however, any thing that tends to the unsettling this Government, makes way for the Interest of the *late King*, or of that Religion which *J. T.* takes no small pains to disown.

Life of Milton.
History, p.
46.

Tho' he undertake for the sense of *all good Men*, as if 'twere against a Comprehension, least the *Socinians* should be crush'd; and you, for a considerable part of the Nation, that they will lye upon the Wheels with all their Weight, unless this Army, that is as the Words, and your whole drift imply, every Regiment, Troop and Company in it, be Disbanded; the Judgment of this Parliament, as well as the last, and I may add of Parliaments in every Age of the Monarchy, cannot but be of greater Authority, than your hasty Opinions, with

(GENTLEMEM)

Your's to Command upon

the like Occasion.